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Strigulensia.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL MEMOIRS

RELATING TO THE

DISTRICT ADJACENT TO THE CONFLUENCE

OF

THE SEVERN AND THE WYE.

BY

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P R E F A C E.

THE Contents of the following pages relate generally to the Antiquities of the District adjacent to the Confluence of the Severn and the Wye, and more particularly, in the first portion of the volume, to the probable lines of the British and Roman Passages across those estuaries.

Other Memoirs are added, relating to recent discoveries of Roman Remains in Sedbury, to the termination of the Saxon Dyke there, attributed by Chronicles and Tradition to the work of Offa, and to various other points illustrative of the Anglo-Norman Marchership of Strigul or Chepstow and its early dependencies.

Several of these Memoirs were communicated to the Society of Antiquaries and to the Archæological Institute, and appear in their original form in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxix, and in the Journals of the Bristol and

Gloucester Meetings of the Institute, as noted in the following Table of Contents.

As they contain matter which has been abstracted by the Author from original Records or Charters, or been the result of his personal observation, it has been deemed desirable to revise, rearrange, and reprint them, for private presentation, adding a few additional Memoirs tending to combine the whole in a connected and chronological series. These additions are marked by asterisks in the Table of Contents.

The Plates of the Map of the District, and of the Fonts of Tidenham and Llancaut, have been liberally lent to the Author by the Society of Antiquaries for reimpression. Other obliging aids by communications are acknowledged in the pages where their subjects occur.

The impression is a private one, and strictly limited to two hundred copies.

Sedbury Park, May 16th, 1861.

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I.

REMARKS ON THE TRADITIONAL PASSAGE OF THE ESTUARY OF THE SEVERN, NEAR OLDBURY, IN THE BRITISH PERIOD.¹

TRAVELLERS who have visited Chepstow, Piercefield, and Tintern, will remember the Gloucestershire bank of the Wye opposite to those places, which, although it is no part of the FOREST OF DEAN in a legal sense, may, with reference to the names of its civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, be properly called "the FOREST PENINSULA."² It is bounded on two sides by the Severn and Wye, and terminates in a point at their junction, presenting, in various parts, lofty cliffs of mountain limestone to the Wye, and others composed of red marl capped with lias, towards the Severn.

Nothing can be more dissimilar than the character of these rivers near the point where the peninsula appears to have been crossed by a branch of the Akeman Street,³ at each extremity of the cliffs described. The Severn, to the north of Beachley and Aust, and of the present ferry between them, forms at

¹ Communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, April 24, 1840, and forming part of a Memoir printed in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxix

² In a civil sense, the Hundreds comprised in the peninsula are called the Forest Hundreds, as some parts of the actual Forest are included in each of its magisterial divisions. The Ecclesiastical Valor of 1291 also fixes it within the "Decanatus de Foresta." Rudder gives some extracts from a very early perambulation, which affects to include it in the actual Forest, even down to Chepstow Bridge on the south, but these bounds were removed to the northwards, by a later decision of the Commissioners there cited in the time of Edw. I.

³ See p. 6.

high water, a noble lake-like expanse, across a large portion of which, near Beachley, the rocky ledge of limestone, called "the Lyde," projects at low water, having below it the Bristol Channel, and a succession of rocks, shoals, and rapids, which render navigation difficult and dangerous. The Wye, on the contrary, takes its sinuous and comparatively narrow course between successive promontories, projecting alternately from Gloucestershire and Monmouthshire, and continuing to the junction of the two rivers and the Bristol Channel.

It is well known that this part of Gloucestershire lay in the immediate line of the advance of the Romans against the Silures, but it contains no known military work of that British tribe, though such are numerous in the contiguous districts of Monmouthshire across the Wye.

Of these, one strong camp, apparently British, but probably remodelled by the Romans, crowns the cliffs of Hardwick immediately south of Chepstow, and, doubtless, protected the communication, hereafter noticed, in the British period. I conjecture that its modern name of "the Bulwarks" was preceded in those early days by the expressive designation which the Normans would not find in their own or in the Anglo-Saxon language, and which, therefore, I consider them to have borrowed from that of the earlier inhabitants, when they gave the name of "Estrighoiel" to that fortress, which evidently succeeded to this more ancient camp in the guardianship of the Wyemouth. Most of the British names are highly descriptive, and, as I have been assured by a gentleman who combines classical attainments with intimate knowledge of the Welch language,¹ that I am justified in conjecturing that Traigyl,² or Treigl (revolution or wandering), will apply to the crooks or windings of a river, I will venture to translate the "Castellum Estrighoiel" (or Ys-Traigyl) as the

¹ The late Rev. Bruce Knight, Chancellor of Llandaff.

² See Owen's Welsh Dictionary, under the words Ystraigyl and Treigliad, and further remarks in a later portion of this work.

Castle of the Crooks, an expression beautifully descriptive of those windings, in one of the most characteristic of which the Castle of Chepstow is situated.

This camp (possibly the British Strigul and now "the Bulwarks" in Hardwick), and the camp of Oldbury on the left bank of the Severn, mark the limits of the present inquiry into the British line of passage.

In an Essay by Roger Gale,¹ on the Roman Roads of Britain, the following opinion occurs with respect to the Ryknield Street, which is only of importance to the present question in shewing his belief in the general fact of an early line of passage from Oldbury.

He considers the Ryknield Street to have come from the north to Gloucester, and to have proceeded thence, "in all probability, to *Oldbury*, where formerly was the Ferry or Trajectus over Severn towards Caergwent; and if it did not run so far as St. David's, yet it may very well be supposed to have gone to Maridunum (Carmardhin), and to have taken in that branch of Antonine's Itinerary that lies from Maridunum through Leucarum, Nidum and Bovium, to Isca."—"The Strata Julia may have been part of it."—"I am apt to think this Strata Julia came near Strigull Castle."

The Roman Trajectus here mentioned is (in its general sense) the precursor of the disputed Roman passage into Britannia Secunda, which has been referred by very numerous distinguished antiquaries to almost as many different places on the Severn, of which the passage now discussed is nearly the centre. Many of these opinions deserve the highest respect, but others have been formed without local knowledge of the channel or currents of the Severn, or of that marshy district which extends in a southerly direction from the left bank of the river (near Oldbury) towards the mouth of the Avon, between the Port Hills and Pilning Street on the south-east, and Aust on the north-west, leaving "Ingst"

¹ Leland's Itin., edit. 1767, vol. vi, p. 139.

(insular both in name and appearance) in the centre of these former marshes. Popular tradition considers this vale to have been once covered with the waters of the estuary.¹

In endeavouring, however, to connect the British road from Cirencester with that acknowledged portion of the Julian Way which lies on the western side of the Wye, this question is only so far touched, as to suggest, that *wheresoever the later Roman passage might be ultimately fixed*, the prudence of that people would probably follow the established British line, in the first instance at least, in crossing so dangerous an estuary.²

¹ Compare, with regard to this sea-marsh, William of Worcester, p. 147, who states, with obvious inaccuracy, the width of the present outlet of the Severn between Aust Cliff and Chapel Rock, now a mile, to have been only a sling's throw at the time of his visit. See also the Map of Coal Districts, *Geological Transactions*, i, N. S., pl. 38; and also an account of this level in Seyers's *Bristol*, i, 138. It is probable that William intended the space between Beachley and the Chapel Rock. An earlier authority, Walter de Mapes, gives the breadth of the Passage at Aust as one mile, in his treatise, *De Nugis Curialium*, cap. xxiii.

² In waiving this subject, it may, nevertheless, be desirable to notice some indications of Roman settlement at *Stroat* in Tidenham, and of communication between Stroat and Oldbury on Severn.

The village of STROAT lies on that vicinal road from Venta to Glevum which has been noticed above, and which Leman, in his Commentary on Roman Roads (Hatcher's *Richard of Cirencester*, p. 114), has included in his Ryknield Street. Its distances are, between eight and nine miles from Caerwent, and four from the Roman Camp and Temple at Lidney.

At this point of Stroat, on a rising ground to the south-west of the village, are vestiges of excavations and earthworks, much reduced and altered by agricultural operations, and of unknown origin, which, combined with the former marshy banks of the Severn, would inclose a space of about ten acres, nearly oblong, but somewhat rounded on the south-west side, and which it is difficult to refer to any thing but military purposes. The *Gaerston Hill* farm, adjoining, and Dinnegar to the north, evidently derive their names from them (as ancient names of unknown origin), but the appellations of "Street" preserved in the name of the village, and of the "Oldbury Field" (situated within the traces of earthworks), point, as far as they go, to Roman origin. A Camp, considered to be Roman, and authenticated by an uninscribed altar presented by the Author to the Archæological Institute, exists on the Hill

With respect to Gale's opinion as to the Ryknield Street descending to a ferry at Oldbury, that street—the communication between the north and St. David's—is now generally supposed to have turned to the west, at or near Gloucester; receiving in its further course, nevertheless, a line branching from the Ickenield Street (or British road from Yarmouth to Cornwall), such subsidiary line of the last-mentioned road passing through Cirencester, and thence over the Severn, to communication with the admitted Via Julia at Caerwent.

Lysons¹ traces this last-named branch of the Ickenield Street westwards, by Cirencester as far as Kingscote, and continues it conjecturally to Aust, but only conjecturally, and gives to it the name of that greater Street from which it branches.

Coxe² (who agrees with his friends Leman and Sir R. C.

to the north of Stroat and Madgetts. Coins have been lately found in Tidenham Churchyard, and a Roman Position discovered on the Cliffs in Sedbury, within this parish, as described in subsequent pages.

But there are other lines within which the site of these Roman discoveries is inclosed, namely, the lines of the Dyke attributed to Offa (afterwards discussed), which skirt the Wye in Tidenham; and which lines Mr. Fosbroke (varying from received opinion) has considered "as communications between the Roman Camps thrown out to check the Silures," which must have "guarded the Trajectus in a most powerful force, and almost invincibly have protected the passage of the Severn, through the numerous garrisons which could have been collected against an enemy within a very few hours." (*Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. iii, New Series, 491.) A *substructure* by an earlier prince or nation is perfectly reconcileable with Offa's subsequent adaptation of these lines to his purposes, and the preceding observations tend, in some points, rather to confirm, than otherwise, this theory of a vast advanced position between the rivers. But it must be remembered that the difficulties of this theory would increase in proportion to the scale of the supposed settlement or station. A Roman position defended on the sides towards the Wye by the lines attributed traditionally to Offa, and on the northern side by the earthworks at Madgetts and the Chase Hill, would be nearly co-extensive with the entire parish of Tidenham, which contains about six thousand acres.

¹ Woodchester, p. 18, and map, *ibidem*.

² Monmouthsh., vol. i, p. 2* and p. 21*.

Hoare in calling this line the Akeman Street) traces it, in Gloucestershire, on the authority of Leman, to the great tumulus at Symond's Hall between Kingscote and Oldbury, leaving its further progress uncertain, as to tending towards Oldbury, or towards Aust; but in his map (directed by Leman) he brings it conjecturally across the Severn from the north of Oldbury, then through Sedbury in Tidenham, thence across the Wye to Chepstow parish, and thence onwards to Caerwent.

The following personal observations are in support of the portion of this line lying between Oldbury and Caerwent; delineated in the accompanying Map.

About two miles north of Oldbury, at Shepherdine, is a "pill," or mouth of a brook, with a landing place, where there is a gravel bank, which is rare in this part of the Severn. From this the market people pass weekly to the upper or lower pill (in Tidenham) severally situated above and below the Sedbury Cliffs, where there are also gravel banks, and proceed by land to Chepstow Bridge. This passage from Oldbury takes the line of the principal channel slantways, and either pill is used as wind and tide render convenient. Seyer, in his *Memoirs of Bristol*,¹ notices this Passage, which he considers to be "of the remotest antiquity," but being in pursuit of Roman communications, overlooks its connexion with British roads.

From the lower or southern landing place, immediately at the southern end of the Sedbury Cliffs, crowned, as hereafter mentioned, with what is considered to be the termination of Offa's Dyke, a line of ancient disused road runs from river to river, parallel with this dyke, and on the southern side of it. It is traceable, first, to Buttington Hill, where it crosses the turnpike road; it proceeds thence, down a lane very deep and narrow (and before some late alterations very much deeper), on the south side of "the Netherway field" to the former site

¹ *Memoirs of Bristol*, vol. i, p. 78.

of Sedbury Cross, where the road from the higher pill or landing place formerly joined it. It is here remembered to have crossed the present pool at Pensilvania Farm; and it is still clearly traceable, by the side of the Dyke, to a considerable pill on the Wye, at Tiler's Marsh, protected by a large mount hereafter mentioned.

From this pill a boat would easily cross the current of the Wye, slantways,¹ to either extremity of the limestone cliffs at Hardwick, on the opposite side of the river, but situated about a quarter of a mile lower down, on which Cliffs the Camp before mentioned, now called the Bulwarks, is situated. There is a very steep² approach to it by the Fosse, and a much easier one by the more distant slope of Warrenslade. On the top of this slope or "slade," the decided gravel bank of an ancient road commences, clearly distinguishable from the soil adjacent, leading past the principal entrance of the Camp, and then turning off towards Venta Silurum, or Caerwent; after which place the lines of the Akeman Street and the Via Julia of Richard of Cirencester are unanimously admitted to coincide.³

¹ It would, of course, pass easily also directly across the Wye to the present site of Chepstow, but the space afterwards enclosed by the mediæval and still existing walls appears to have been avoided by both the trackways. It must also be observed that there would be no accessible place of debarkation directly opposite to "the Bulwarks," or to the south of this Pill, between it and Ewen's Rock (which is about a mile lower down), on account of the intervening alluvial sea-marsh. As late as 1651, an inquisition was taken in Cromwell's Court of Survey for his manor of "Tydnam," to define the road to this Ewen's Rock, which was probably at that time a general landing place within the Wye, and at the present day the marsh would be impassable without continual drainage.

² The fosse of this camp (which is in itself a most picturesque scene, from its connexion with the Cliffs and the Wye, and commands the varied prospects at the confluence of the two rivers and the Bristol Channel) has lately been cleared of brushwood and other obstructions, under the direction of the late Bishop of Llandaff, and forms a most interesting addition to the grounds at Hardwick.

³ I apprehend that it diverged from the present line of turnpike road, or its neighbourhood, on the southern side of the brook at Pwll-Meyric,

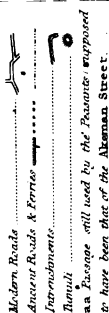
From the higher or northern landing place on the Severn, another ancient way leads by the site of Anwards or Anwells, and turning southwards near Sedbury village, follows what was formerly a deep hollow way, through Hayringbridge, to a communication with the lower line at Pensilvania, as before mentioned, and occurs in deeds of 1499, as the common way, "a Cruce de Sedburye versus Anwelles." I consider it to have been of much higher antiquity, and to have thrown off a branch communicating with the vicinal road from Gloucester and Lidney to Caerwent, which passes Tutshill at about half a mile's distance from this apparently subsidiary line of the Akeman Street, nearly coextensive with the present communication.

Of this vicinal road at Tutshill, which is traceable in many places by the side of the present turnpike-road from Gloucester to Chepstow, it remains to add, that at Tutshill it visibly diverges from the turnpike road, in a westerly direction, towards the Wye, shewing its line through the turf of the fields, and occurring as a rude pavement in sinking foundations. There is a tradition of a bridge over the Wye having existed in early periods at a point below Tutshill (nearly opposite Piercefield Alcove), and parallel lines of black remains of stakes are clearly to be seen at low tides,¹ crossing the bed of the river, and also a ruined pier, possibly part of this traditional bridge, or of some later one. From the Monmouthshire side of these stakes, a line of road may be traced, ascending the Piercefield cliffs, and visible through the brush-

and passed up the deep valley between Crick and Runston. Beyond Crick its line has long been noticed by Coxe and others.

¹ Coxe, who was unable to find them (*Monmouthshire*, ii, 364), must have sought them when covered by the tide, or at a wrong point. In the notes on the "Cygneæ Cantio," Leland cites the note of a nameless commentator on some verses of Alexander Necham (Abbot of Cirencester), which mention the bridge on the Strata Julia, "quod vulgo Strigolium dicitur" (*Itin.*, ix, 101), but the passage is commented upon in a later page, with Leland's condemnation of it.

JUNCTION OF THE RIVERS



wood at a considerable distance. Its further progress is in the suburbs of Chepstow, but its direction is to the west of that town near the site of St. Kingsmark's Priory, from which it probably turned to the left, and joined the former road, or Akeman Street, in its progress towards Caerwent, as noticed at greater length, in the subsequent account of the communications with "Venta Silurum."

The preceding remarks, founded on personal observation, so far illustrate and confirm the opinion of Gale, as to an early British Passage from Oldbury to the right bank of the Severn, and they not only prove its practicability, but its desirableness, as shewn by the constant, although irregular use of such Passage by the peasantry of the district, even at the present day, between the opposite banks of the Estuary.

II.

ON BRITISH AND ROMAN REMAINS; ILLUSTRATING COMMUNICATIONS WITH VENTA SILURUM, ANCIENT PASSAGES OF THE BRISTOL CHANNEL, AND ANTONINE'S ITER XIV.¹

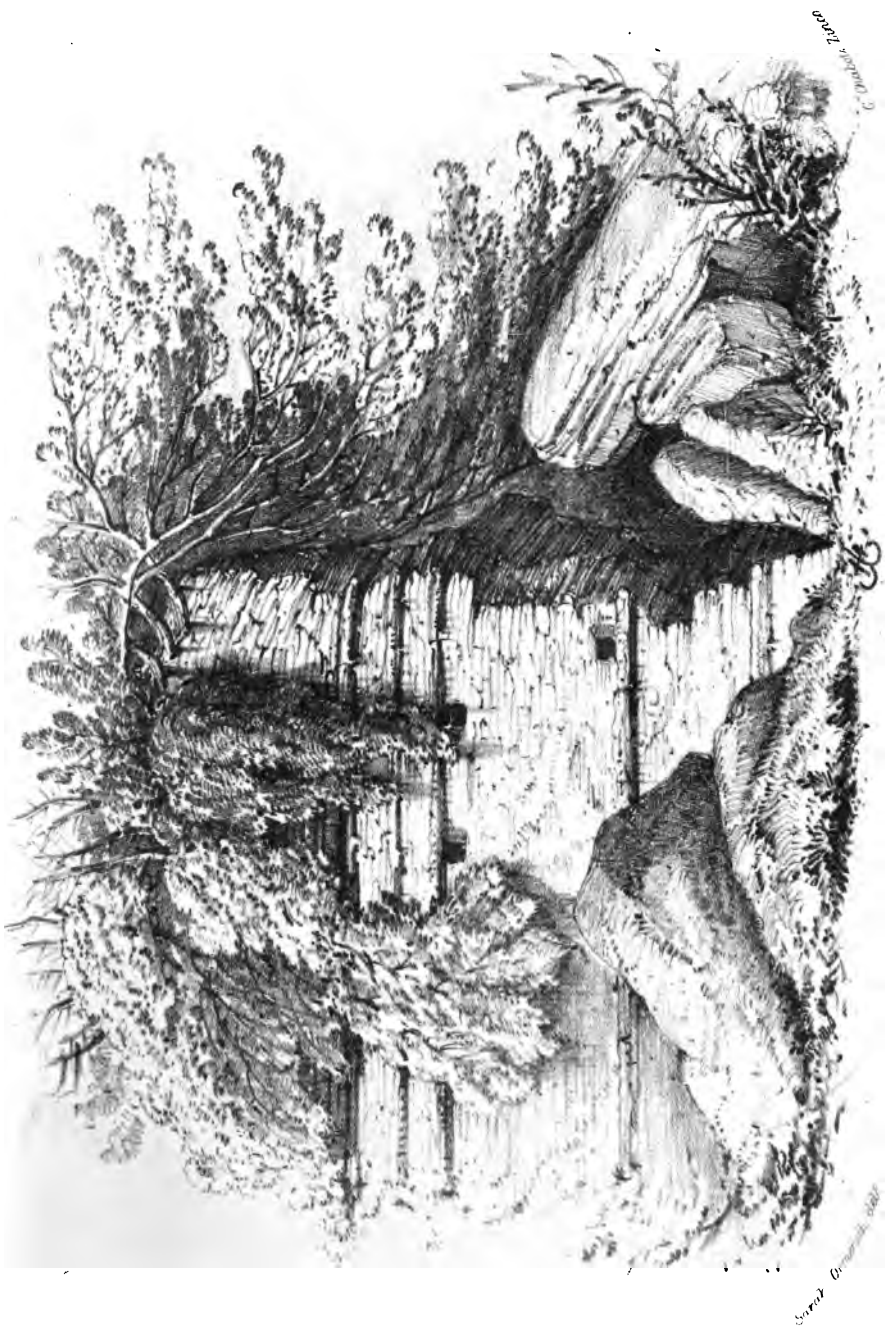
THE object of the following Memoir differs materially from the point of discussion in numerous Essays which have treated previously of the Roman passages of the estuary of the Severn. In former Essays, the compositions of eminent antiquaries

¹ THE SUBJOINED INTRODUCTORY NOTICE WAS PREFIXED TO AN EARLIER REIMPRESSION OF THIS MEMOIR, PRINTED FOR THE PURPOSE OF PRIVATE PRESENTATION.

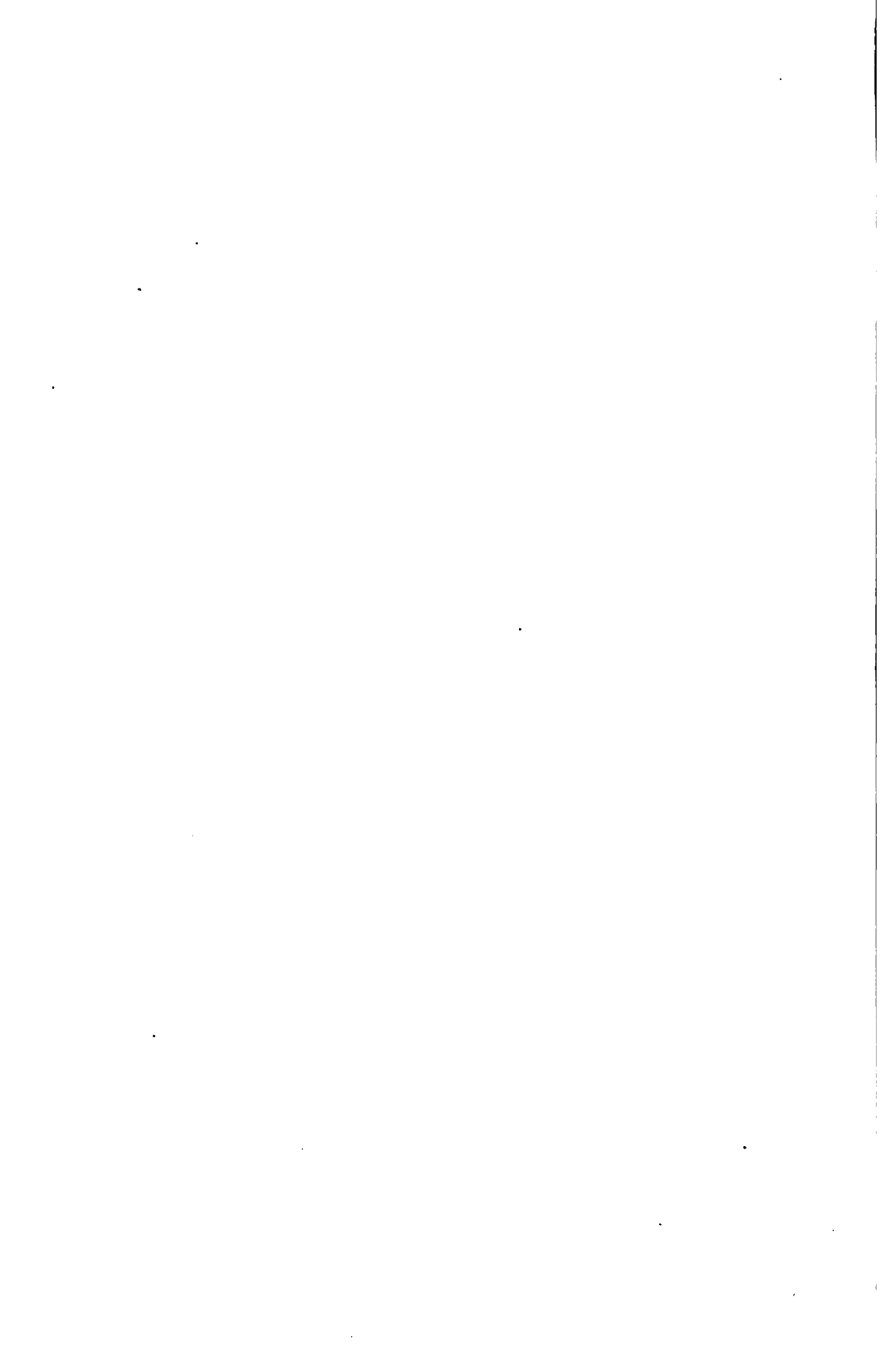
The following pages contain the substance of a MEMOIR read on August 2, 1851, at the Meeting of the ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE of Great Britain and Ireland, held at Bristol, and published in their volume relative to the proceedings at that meeting.

The three first Sections of this Memoir, and the fifth, are devoted to CAERWENT itself, and to the vestiges of British and Roman Antiquities connected with the lines of present or former access to it. The fourth Section relates to a more intricate subject, the consideration of the ROMAN MILITARY WAY, from Bath to Caerwent, the subject of long and learned controversies, having for its basis only, so far as Antonine's Itinerary is concerned, two names of places, TRAJECTUS and ABONE, of which the order is controverted, and three measures of distance, of which one is demonstrably incorrect.

The Author's residence, for more than twenty-five years, in the very centre of the locality to which the discussion relates, has given him facilities not enjoyed by his precursors, in investigating a district at all times difficult of access to strangers for purposes of minute examination, and presenting difficulties in many parts to the resident also, except during the periodical cutting of the coppice woods. On this account he wishes to preserve the observations made.



Roman Wall of CAERWENT, adjacent to the S. E. Angle.



from the sixteenth century to the present, ingenuity has been exhausted in attempting to reduce irreconcilable lines of way between Aquæ Sulis or Bath, and Venta Silurum or Caerwent, to agreement with the Roman military way laid down in Antonine's Itinerary, or with its variations in the compilation ascribed by Bertram to Richard of Cirencester; but all, except Seyer, were deficient in local knowledge as to the Severn itself. Its shoals and currents have been overlooked, and lines of transit drawn conjecturally, as if the estuary were a still pool.

In addition, however, to the particular difficulties from the violent rapids and rocky bed of this wild river, it is uncertain to what extent its passages are included in the measures given in the Itinerary, whether the two Stations of Antonine are to be transposed or otherwise; and, in fact, whether any dependence can be placed on the numerals at all.

In the following Memoir, with the exception of one Section, no adaptation of camps, *as Stations*, to the uncertain measures has been attempted. In the other parts of it they are noticed

As remarked in its place, no objection is offered to Leman's, or to Seyer's theory as to Roman communication, generally, between Bath and Seamills on the eastern side of the Bristol Channel within Britannia Prima, or to similar communication between Caerwent and Caldecot on the western side, within Britannia Secunda, if it is allowed to consider Seamills and Caldecot severally, as former petty Ports only. The doubt suggested, relates to the probability of a constant Roman Ferry over the broad and exposed part of the estuary of the Severn between these points of Seamills and Caldecot; and an available alternative is submitted, consisting of combinations of other admitted British and Roman communications. Notices of illustrative antiquities hitherto undescribed are added.

In most parts of the Memoir the Map issued by the Board of Ordnance has been referred to as authority, and, occasionally, the geologically coloured copies of it. This Map marks the shoals and channels of the Severn; but they are more completely indicated, together with the soundings, in Thomas's Chart of 1815, of which a corrected reduction, prepared under the direction of the Admiralty, was published by order of the House of Commons, in a Report on Severn Navigation, in 1849.

as camps only, and the collections respecting probable lines of passage have been combined with notes of miscellaneous antiquities in the districts adjacent, as well for the illustration of the supposed Military Way itself as of other ancient ways bearing from the E. and N.E. on the same point of Caerwent.¹

I.—VENTA SILURUM OR CAERWENT.

A short notice of CAERWENT, the Venta Silurum of Antonine's Itinerary, and of its port, the OSTIA TAROCI and ABER TABOC of the Liber Landavensis, must be prefixed; but for particular notices of this place reference may be made to the account in Coxe's Monmouthshire and Seyer's Bristol, which supersede the inaccurate and defective ones in the early volumes of the *Archæologia*, and Mr. Roach Smith's recent survey² may also be read with advantage.

The Remains of Caerwent are situated nearly three miles N.W. of the point where the Troggy (locally called the Nedern in this concluding part of its course) falls into the Bristol Channel. Its position is in a rich plain surrounded with hills or minor elevations on all sides, bounded by a limestone ridge to the south, another towards Crick on the east with greater elevations beyond it, the Shire Newton hills on the north, and the ranges of Penhow and Wentwood towards the west. Approaches through the defiles of these hills were protected by British fortresses. The camp on Hardwicke Cliffs guarded

¹ The statements have reference to the Ordnance Map, a portion of which adapted to the localities here described, or the greater part of them, is given in *Archæologia*, vol. xxix.

² Proceedings of the Archæological Association, vol. iv, p. 246; see also Remarks on Porchester Castle (Congress of the Archæol. Institute at Winchester), p. 19.

Since this Memoir first passed the press, another most able and elaborate account of the Roman Caerwent and its existing Remains has been added to those above mentioned by Octavius Morgan, Esq., M.P., and is published in *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvi.

the Wye below Strigul or Chepstow ; another camp, south of Penhow, and a third, Castell Prin, north of it, protected each side of the pass towards Caerleon. Sudbrook camp, which seems of British origin, although of Roman adoption, covered the inlets of the Troggy and of the Murig, between which streams it projects into the Severn ; and other British works near Llanmelin appear on an eminence above the gorge of the Troggy, where it emerges from the hills on the north.

On the site of Caerwent itself, however, no remains whatsoever of any previous British works are traceable ; and its position, in an open plain on the bank of a stream, is as contrary to British principles of fortification as it is characteristic of the Roman system.

Its existing walls are still magnificent and beautiful in their ruins. The original fosse is still clearly shown on the western and northern sides ; but the most perfect part of the ramparts is on the south side, where the annexed engraving shows the loftiest part, about twenty-five feet in height, near the S.E. angle. There are no vestiges of the former central gateway (one of the four mentioned by Leland) on this side, but in it are still observable the three bastions which are later additions ; and here also are bonding courses, formed of red sandstone once imitative of brick, but all the courses are now equally grey with lichens. In this front also mooring rings for vessels are stated to have been fixed, for convenience of vessels in a supposed basin or canal on the site of the Troggy or Nedern below.

No vestiges of such rings are known to have existed, and an examination throws equal doubts on the correctness of the tradition as to a former canal or basin.

The Troggy or Nedern, which is generally dry in summer, has a course S.E. after emerging from the gorge already mentioned, and then flows eastwards in a line which is about two hundred yards south of the south wall of Caerwent, and parallel with it. The banks here show a section of appa-

rently undisturbed "*till*," consisting of red and grey beds of sandy loam, with rolled pebbles at their lower part; and, at the side of the highway leading from Caldecot bridge to the eastern gate of Caerwent, these beds are conformably overlaid by gravel, which can be traced onwards under the town itself. The total depth of these beds is small, as is shown by the wells. No traces whatsoever of any canal remain, and from the height of Caerwent above the sea level it is scarcely possible that such canal could have existed in the Roman period. If such had been made, the deep cuttings, which would have been required in such case, would have remained, and none can be found.

After passing Caerwent, the Nedern (as the Troggy is here popularly called) takes a S.E. direction, for about a mile and a half, until it reaches Balan Moor, within the hamlet of Crick, where it turns southward, and passes through the present marsh, once, traditionally and most probably, a marshlike lake, nearly surrounding Caldecot Castle, and obviously a great addition to its former strength. It proceeds next between the castle mound and the slope from the foot of Stow Ball Hill towards its left bank, passes the remarkable rounded Mount of sandstone, "Deep Weir Tump," on its right, and then shoots forwards into Caldecot Pill, an Inlet of the Bristol Channel.

Mr. Leman, as hereafter mentioned, fixed the probable Roman landing place at this Mount; but the combined waters of the former marsh and inlet would spread higher, and are considered to have given the name of "the Creek"¹ to the hamlet

¹ The word is written Cricke in the Wentwood Claims of 1270, and Crikke in the Valor. Eccl. of Hen. VIII, but as "*the Creek*" in the Iter Carolinum (*Collectanea Curiosa*, vol. ii, p. 443). In this sense it has as fair a derivation from the Norman "Crike" a Creek, as *Crick* Howel, in a different one, has from the British word for Crag or Rock. From its connection with this passage of the Severn, a few words may be added with reference to this mention of "the Creek" on the occasion of King Charles's visit to Mr. Moore there, July 24, 1645, with an *intention* to

of Crick on their bank, although the lower part of the inlet alone would constitute that navigable creek or inlet, which was the port of Caerwent in earlier days, and still continues to be such, but in much diminished importance.

In the Roman period Caerwent would be the guardian of this petty Port or Inlet, and during the renewed British occupation which followed, its importance continued. Mr. Rees, the learned editor of the collection of Charters constituting the *Liber Landavensis*, supposes Caerwent to have been intended under the designation of the "City of Gwent," in which that work states a synod to have been held in the tenth century. Another Charter in the same collection, and in more immediate connection with the present subject, includes in its grants free approach for ships "in OSTIO TAROCI," which locality would indisputably be Caldecot Pill.¹

The final ruin of Caerwent seems to have followed the Norman Conquest, and its traffic and military consequence to

cross for Bristol at the Black-rock, which he afterwards abandoned. This unfulfilled intention has led to many whimsical errors. Coxe (*Monmouthshire Tour*, p. 2) gives a story (from depositions) of *Oliver's* soldiers (meaning those of the *Parliament*) having pursued Charles (of course under misapprehension as to his real route), and of their being landed by the boatmen, and drowned by the returning tide on the English stones, *not* on Charson Rock. Local tradition, however, connects this with Charson Rock, and sometimes calls it Charley's stone, as if in reference to this story; but Saxton's maps gave the name of *Charston* to the rock, in the time of Elizabeth, and William of Worcester in the fifteenth century.

¹ See *Liber Landavensis*, p. 210, for this mention of "GWENTONIA URBS", and p. 226, for "Aper Taroci" and "Ostium Taroci", and Mr. Rees's notes, pp. 477. 497. This work is supposed to have been completed (as a compilation) in 1132, by Geoffry, brother of Urban, Bishop of Llandaff (pp. ix, x), and such compiler would be a competent judge of the historical credibility of statements regarding the tenth century. No argument is raised here with respect to earlier resort to the "ABER TAROC" from the alleged charters themselves, or from British legends, as the citation above only regards proof of the continued use of the Inlet subsequent to Roman occupation. For the tradition respecting it, preserved in the Triads, see *Cambrian Biography*, by Owen, p. 53.

have been transferred to Chepstow, which agrees with Leland's opinion.¹ The Saxon name "*Chepstow*" indeed points to earlier traffic there; but it was in the time of the Conqueror that the erection of the Castle of Strigul adjacent to that town superseded the military importance of Caerwent. Subsequently the feudal tenants of the Lord Marcher of Strigul erected their dependent fortalices on the Welsh side of his domain, as Newport, Caerleon, Usk, Caldecote, and St. Briavel's formed an outer and independent line of defence; but in this arrangement Caerwent was not included. It became a dependency of the lordship of Wentloog, possessed by the Clares, Earls of Gloucester, and afterwards by the Audleys,² and has not subsequently occurred as a fortress, the name of Cas Gwent, equivalent to its own military designation, being given by the Welsh to Chepstow, its successor.³

The Norman tower of Caldecot, however, took the place of Caerwent, as the more immediate protector of the petty Port adjacent and of its traffic, and became the commencement of that noble pile which displays its ruins near the Inlet now only visited by a few coal sloops.

After thus endeavouring to illustrate the locality which, in its better days would be a principal entrance into "*BRITANNIA SECUNDA*," it remains to advert to the principal lines of Roman communication passing from the eastwards and north-eastwards towards Caerwent.

II.—PORTWAY FROM CALDECOT TO CAERWENT, DEEMED BY
LEMAN, HATCHER, AND OTHERS TO HAVE BEEN THE ROMAN
MILITARY WAY DESCRIBED IN ANTONINE'S *ITER XIV.*

Between Bath, or *AQUÆ SULIS*, and Caerwent, or *VENTA*

¹ Itinerary, vol. v, p. 6.

² Willis' *Llandaff*, p. 163; Dugdale's *Baronage*, vol. i, p. 751.

³ H. Lwyd, in his *Commentariolum*, calls Chepstow "*celebre emporium et nunc Castell Gwent dictum*," adding in a note, "*hodie Cas Gwent contracte*." Chepstow, the Saxon equivalent for emporium, continued to be the English name.

SILURUM, Antonine's Itinerary, as is well known to antiquaries, places *two* stations, TRAJECTUS and ABONE, and Gale suggested the transposition of them. They are so transposed in the Compilation published by Bertram as that of Richard of Cirencester, with the addition of a *third* intermediate station, "AD SABBINAM."¹

This Section only bears on the complicated disputes arising from this Iter, in necessarily mentioning various military works of which some must be coincident with the Stations of the Itinerary, and which by position indicate the lines of communication with the Severn, the probable places of transit, and the points of landing on the western or right bank of the estuary. As to the long dispute with respect to reconciliation of such facts with the measures of the Itinerary, there are about *twenty theories*: Camden, Burton, Baxter, Gale, Atkins, and Rudder cross *above* Aust or the old Passage; Reynolds is confused and locally ignorant; Baker inclines to Oldbury; and Horseley conjectures an oblique passage which would necessarily bear from Aust, or the Pill below it, on a point *below* the Wyemouth. Of the rest, Stukeley and Lysons support a passage from Aust, as Seyer² does with respect to the line of Richard's Itinerary; but he makes the close of Richard's line to Aust an excrescence from that of Antonine, which he ends at Seamills on the Avon, placing Abone there.

The last to be noticed are those who travel to the mouth of the Avon, in search of Antonine's ABONE, of whom Barritt, the historian of Bristol, doubts between Seamills and Portishead.³ Coxe and Leman come to Seamills on the north bank of the Avon, near its mouth, followed by Hatcher, Hoare, Seyer, and Phelps. In the greatest part of this line from Bath to Seamills there has been a tacit acquiescence by many for half a century, but still it is only a *conjectural line*, so far as

¹ Gale's Antonine, p. 131; Bertram's Tres Scriptores, p. 39.

² Compare Seyer's Table in vol. i, p. 130, and § 38, in p. 142.

³ Hist. of Bristol, vol. i, p. 26.

regards its continuation beyond Bitton and St. George's to Durdham Down, *which is west of Bristol*, Seyer objecting to Coxe's appropriation of the Fosse road from Bath to North Stoke in its supposed commencement,¹ and to any point of embarkation in the marsh with respect to the close. At Durdham Down, indeed,² a stoned way is found leading to Seamills, an undisputed Roman camp guarding the mouth of the Avon; but after this Coxe's line from thence over the marshes to Madam's Pill on the Severn, N.W. of King's Weston, is disputed; and if Seyer's passage from Seamills by the Avon is substituted,³ an additional tide makes difficulties anew. Finally, however, Barritt, Coxe, Leman, Hatcher, and Hoare expressly, and Seyer by implication, with respect to Antonine's Iter,⁴ make *Caldecot Pill* the point for landing on the western bank of the estuary.

It has been the opinion of numerous Pilots whom the writer has had opportunities of consulting, that a passage from Madam's Pill to Caldecot could only take place once in each tide, and that from its exposure stormy weather would render it impracticable; and that a passage from Seamills, by the Avon, would have great additional difficulties from meeting another tide, as before mentioned.

But *assuming* that the VIA JULIA did *really* proceed by Coxe's line to Seamills, and that the subsequent transit over the channel took place from *either of these last-mentioned points*, there can be little doubt of Caldecot Pill having been the port made for, either with reference to its own convenience or the desirableness of avoiding the marshes below, or an unnecessary circuit above it; such unnecessary circuit also (if made)

¹ Seyer's Bristol, vol. i, p. 149, and p. 138.

² Ibid. p. 150, and Coxe, p. *14.

³ Ibid. p. 142.

⁴ "It appears to me, that at the time when this Itinerary was compiled a common route between Caerwent and Abona was by a passage-boat direct." Seyer, i, 142. This *must be through Caldecot Pill*, as a boat from Caerwent could not pass into the Severn otherwise.

rendering it requisite to encounter "the Shoots," the "*periculosissimum passagium*" of William of Worcester, and the "*succession of violent cataracts*" described by Telford,¹ in his Report, from which an extract is given hereafter.

And be this complication of doubts and difficulties fatal to Coxe's theory as to the transit to Caldecot, as a part of Antonine's Fourteenth Iter, or otherwise, still (what it is the object of the present memoir to trace) this inlet of the Nedern or Troggy at Caldecot would be the PORT OF CAERWENT for all purposes of vessels ascending the estuary from other quarters.

The INDICATIONS of ANCIENT ROAD connecting this little PORT with VENTA SILURUM are the next point.

In his *Monmouthshire Tour*,² Mr. Coxe conjectured that the JULIA STRATA, recommencing at Caldecot Pill, proceeded thence to a natural elevation of rock (Deep Weir Tump near Caldecot Bridge), and after disappearing in the village re-occurred between Caldecot Church and Castle, and proceeded over the natural rock to some limekilns, where he lost it, and supposed a causeway leading from the bank of the Nedern to Caerwent to have been its continuation.

Mr. Leman's better theory is given in the same note, placing the *landing point* at this tumulus or "Tump," which is *negatively* confirmed by no vestiges of any ancient road having occurred between the Severn and it or other parts of Caldecot village in the recent cuttings of the South Wales Railway. Coxe's theory also overlooked the probable former state of the marsh between this Tump and his supposed continuation of

¹ See note in p. 20.

² Vol. i, p. *17. Coxe uses the terms JULIA STRATA and VIA JULIA indifferently, but is *not* justified in doing so. The name of *Julia Strata* was given by Necham, abbot of Cirencester in the thirteenth century, to the Roman Road which crossed the Usk at Caërleon, and the name *Via Julia* to the entire line of this Road between Bath and St. Davids, in the compilation published by Bertram in 1757 as the work of Richard of Cirencester. Gale extends the appellation *Julia Strata* to his northern ramification of the alleged *Via Julia*. See p. 3.

way between the Church and Castle, and he seems not to have known that if he had followed the present line of road from the Tump to the village cross, and advanced straight forwards, from the point where the road to the Church turns off at a right angle, he would have come on a direct *paved* way.

This last-mentioned paved line, from which the hauling way (now used and noted in the Ordnance Map) immediately separates, proceeds straight forwards, and is formed of squared stones laid over the natural sandstone. It enters Caldecot common field, and is soon lost under several feet of accumulated soil, but re-emerges, and is subsequently rejoined by the modern hauling way from the left, and proceeding in a bold curve towards Caerwent is again lost in a hollow cutting. The ridge of limestone rock previously mentioned is cut through by extensive ancient quarries in front of it; and if the walls of Caerwent were excavated from these (as is very likely), it probably proceeded through them; if otherwise, it would join the road from Dewstow on its left. In either case, its further course, after crossing the Nedern adjacent, would proceed by Coxe's causeway towards Caerwent.

III.—THE PASSAGES OF THE SEVERN FROM AUST AND OTHER POINTS, AND ANCIENT WAYS BEARING TOWARDS AND FROM AUST.

With respect to the "NEW PASSAGE" below Aust, considered as a possible *Roman place of passage*, Seyer's remarks on the ancient marsh which must have been crossed towards it, and Telford's Report with respect to the difficulties of the passage itself, render further observation unnecessary.¹

¹ Seyer (*Bristol*, vol. i, cap. ii, § 33) mentions as an insuperable reason against any Ferry *here* in the Roman period, that the marsh country, through which it is necessary to travel for two miles before arriving at the New Passage, could not be regularly passable at that period, and would still be overflowed, almost every spring-tide, but for the protection of a vast sea-wall. Telford (in his examination on the subject of S. Wales roads in 1826, Parl. Reports, 278 H., p. 21) states thus with

With respect to OLDBURY, or rather the Pill adjacent, which was the favourite point of the older commentators on Antonine, there can be no doubt that in early ages much occasional crossing took place thence to opposite landing places in Sedbury, at Pill House and at Horse Pill in Stroat near Tidenham, and at Alvington, as is still the case. From all these points ancient hollow ways, continuations of lines of traffic, still stretch from Severn to Wye across the Forest peninsula. A passage from Oldbury to the point where the Dyke ascribed to Offa terminates on the Sedbury Cliffs, described as being of the remotest antiquity by Seyer,¹ and by the pilots as "the oldest passage on the Severn," has been noticed at length by the writer in *Archæologia*, vol. xxix, p. 10. It has been considered, with great probability, besides its local and minor accommodations, to have had communication with the ancient track-ways terminating at Oldbury; but it is unconnected with the present question beyond marking its departure from Oldbury, and its direction to junction with Leman's continuation of (his branch of) the Akeman Street on the western bank of the Severn within Sedbury.²

Greater attention is required by the well-known position south of Oldbury, AUST, the *Trajectus Augusti* of Lyson's Map in his *Woodchester*, a derivation which might be changed to an allusion to Legio Augusta, so closely connected with

reference to the New Passage—"It appears to be one of the most forbidding places at which an important Ferry was ever established. It is in truth a succession of violent cataracts formed in a rocky channel, exposed to the rapid rush of a tide which has scarcely an equal upon any other coast." He further mentions the tide rising forty-six feet under his assistant's observation, and sometimes three feet higher; and that the velocity was at the rate of seven miles per hour, with encumbrances of rocks, and full exposure to the violence of the prevailing S.W. winds.

¹ Seyer's Bristol, vol. i, p. 78.

² See *Archæologia*, vol. xxix, p. 11, and Map in Coxe's Tour in Monmouthshire. See also pp. 5, 6, preceding. The discovery of a ROMAN MILITARY POSITION ON THE SEDBURY CLIFFS in 1851, unknown when this Memoir was first printed, is the subject of the following article.

this district, if it could be allowed; but the designation of this place as *Austreclive*, in Domesday, seems only to point to its position with respect to the Severn.¹

The undisputed Roman camp of **ELBERTON**,² situated nearly three miles east of Aust, would give requisite protection to Aust, to the Ferry, and to the short pass over the Marsh to it. It is a parallelogram, with broad and lofty mounds, described at length by Seyer and also by Baker in his Essay on the Gloucestershire Camps of Ostorius printed in the *Archæologia*, but when visited by the author was covered with coppice wood which prevented close investigation. The name, formerly written Aylburton, like that of the township adjacent to Lydney Camp, may mean the "town of the old fortification."

Roman remains are not known to have been found under its coppices, but tumuli exist on Alveston down to the east of it, a tessellated pavement has been found at Stidcote in Titherton further to the eastwards, and another at Tockington Park, mentioned hereafter. The intersections of ancient roads near it are very numerous, and as follows:—

The first line from Aquæ Sulis (which requires particular attention) is stated by Rudder³ to pass in a straight direction through Abston and Wick towards Aust, and is considered by Seyer⁴ to be that Fosse road, through North Stoke to Upton, which Coxe has incorporated with his Julian Way. Seyer further conjectures it to have passed through Mangots-

¹ The position of Aust, anciently Austreclyve, is *south* of some of the minor channels of the Severn; but its most striking feature is that of an insulated mass of marl and lias rising from what is the *eastern* bank of the estuary. A derivation from "*Australis*" would refer to a *southern* position, but in mediæval Latinity an *eastern* one would be indicated by the import of "*Austre*", as may be seen by referring to Adelung's Ducange, under Austreleudi, Austria (Gallica), and Austrasia.

² For description, see Seyer, vol. i, p. 141, and Baker's Memoir in *Archæologia*, vol. xix.

³ Rudder, p. 211.

⁴ Bristol, vol. i, cap. ii, p. 149.

field by Berry Hill, and onwards through Almondsbury in the direction of Aust, and as being a line of British origin but Roman adoption.

The connection of the Romans with it is abundantly clear. A line drawn on the map from Bath to Elberton Camp near Aust will lead to Upton by Seyer's Fosse way. At Abston, Roman pottery, sacrificial instruments, coins, etc., identify a Roman position, as in Rudder, p. 211. In Mansgotsfield the Camp of Berry Hill is shown to be of Roman occupation by coins.¹ Further on, at Tockington Park, Seyer records the tessellated pavement of an incompletely excavated villa, and the Ordnance Map marks the Port Hills. Seyer considers the line thence to Aust, through Olveston and Elberton, to have been nearly as at present.²

The *first* traditional trackway, thus partly traced and illustrated throughout by existing Roman remains, would fall in near this last point with a *second ancient Vicinal Way* tending westwards from Corinium, termed by Hatcher the Acman Street, and by Lysons the Ickenield Street, both of course meaning a branch only of the greater Streets of those names. It has been traced by Leman (with approval of Coxe and Hatcher) and by Lysons, from the vicinity of Cirencester, by Truesbury and Cherington and Kingscote, Leman doubting whether its further course tended to Oldbury or Aust from Symond's Hall, where perhaps branches divided. Lysons (Woodchester, p. 56, and map) brings on one line, conjecturally but after mature investigation, from Kingscote to AUST through ELBERTON.

To this same point of AUST, Seyer³ also brings conjecturally, from Seamills, that part of the Julian Way described in

¹ In possession of the late Right Hon. Charles Bathurst, who had a sketch of the supposed line of way through this parish.

² "The Marshes prevented a nearer communication, as they still do." Seyer, i, p. 72.

³ Vol. i, pp. 130, 155.

the compilation attributed to Richard of Cirencester, which relates to the portion between his stations of ABONE and AD SABRINAM, supporting it by the numerous discoveries of coins, etc., in its route through Henbury. That route is described in a note following, and it may suffice to observe here that it would, at all events, connect Elberton with the Roman Camp and Port at Seamills, and also with the Ridgeway in its course by Milbury Heath from Gloucester to the Camps on the Avon near Bristol.

These lines combined, after intersection to the east of Elberton, would cross a strip of the alluvial marsh at its very narrowest part near an artificial mount called Barrow Hill and Red Hill, and so reach Aust. Waiving, for the present, all reference to the military line of the Itinerary, the reader will perhaps think it likely that, with reference to such concentration and local facilities for general purposes, Seyer may be right in concluding on it "*as a certainty*" that "*the usual ferry in the Roman age, and for centuries after, was at AUST.*"¹

WITH RESPECT to progress westward from Aust, two passages of the Severn are practicable :—

I. The present regular Ferry from thence to Beachley *above* or on the north-east of the Wyemouth ;

II. An oblique Passage to Blackrock in Monmouthshire *below* or west of the Wyemouth, which is not a Ferry in the *legal sense*, and, not being such, is passed over with little attention in the Parliamentary inquiries.

I. The passage from Aust to Beachley.

In a memoir by the writer, printed in the *Archæologia* (vol. xxix, p. 8), William of Worcester is correctly quoted as stating the width of the Severn at this point to have been only "*jactus lapidis*," seemingly a sling's throw.² This

¹ Vol. i, p. 139.

² The precise words of William of Worcester are as follow :—Charston Rok, distans inter Seynt Tyracle et Groghy Rok, etc., etc., est ita magna

ancient statement is now contradicted by a more ancient one, that of Walter de Mapes, recently printed by the Camden Society: "*Est autem Sabrina ibi habens milliare in latum.*"¹ This near agreement with present measure, after lapse of seven centuries, is an argument for implying little difference to have taken place since the Roman period.²

Reference may be made to the memoir cited, for lines of road extending westwards and northwards from the landing place of this passage at Beachley, of which one would point

rupis sicut rupis Sancti Tiriaci, distans a firma terrâ de Austclyff per jactum lapidis." It is certain that the Estuary extended to the east of the Bench Rock, now in the middle of the channel of the Severn, for William himself mentions the covering of that rock with the tide being a guide to mariners, and this alone would confute his previous statement. William cites a mariner's dictation for it, and if he wrote down *Austclyff* instead of *Betteslegh* in error, correction to this effect would leave points in the Wye as they are at present, and the width of the Severn itself unspecified.

A different measure of width is given by Leland (Itinerary, vol. v, fol. 5), who describes "the Ferry from Auste to a village on the further Ripe," &c., as three miles. Perhaps he went up the Wye to Ewen's Rock, as was formerly customary. See *Archæologia*, Vol. xxix, p. 11.

¹ Mapes, cap. xxiii, p. 99.

² In citing, as above, Walter de Mapes "*de Nugis Curialium*," for this width of "*milliare in latum*," we have the testimony of a writer once resident near it, as Rector of Westbury on Severn; but it is to be feared that his manuscript work (the only one known, and one edited with great care) is not as trustworthy as its author. The story from which this citation of width is taken relates to this very Ferry, and to a well-known anecdote of the meeting of Edward King of England with Prince Llewelyn there. Now of the *three* Llewelyns, the first and second were not contemporaries with English Edwards, and the third (Llewelyn ap Gryffydd), contemporary with our Edward I, lived in the century *after* that of Walter de Mapes. The ancient transcriber was possibly ignorant of this, and proves his corruption of the MS. by describing his Prince as "*filius Griffini*," who in Walter's time was unborn. The citation as to *width* might, however, in all likelihood escape similar visitation. As to the legend itself, Camden calls the English king, Edward the elder, but *he* was contemporary with no Llewelyn. Walter de Mapes probably meant *Edmund* (Ironside), who *was* in Gloucestershire in the time of *Llewelyn I*, and may be the King intended.

on Tidenham Chase, identified hereafter as a place of Roman settlement, and would necessarily pass over it if it continued onwards to Blestium or Monmouth. At its point of intersection with the Dyke, attributed to Offa (which crosses the Beachley peninsula and is probably raised on *earlier works*¹), it would also there intersect Leman's branch of the Akeman Street which runs parallel with the Dyke, and crossing the Wye between Chepstow and Hardwick Camp would proceed westwards to junction with other lines bearing on the common point of Caerwent.

In modern days legal restrictions, limiting the crossing from Aust to Beachley above the Wye, bind the traveller going westwards to a circuit by Chepstow Bridge; but in British and Roman days there can be no doubt but that he would have an option of crossing to a point below the Wye, and thus avoiding a circuit and the transit of two rivers.

II. The former use of such SECOND LINE OF TRANSIT from Aust to Blackrock accords with Horseley's² suggestion. Although interrupted in making observation, he states that the Military Way running eastward *from Caerwent* was "large and remarkable," and that it left the Highway (this would be at Crick) and inclined southwards towards the Severn; that he considered the Roman passage was *below* the Wyemouth, and the landing place not so high as Oldbury. In later days Seyer³ has affirmed "the certainty" of such transit; some approximation to it has the approval of Tel-

¹ The supposition of *earlier works*, and of their adaptation to Saxon use, has been stated by Mr. Fosbroke, and also by Mr. Webb (*Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis*, p. xcvi), and accords with the writer's opinion as expressed by him in a memoir printed in *Archæologia*, vol. xxix, p. 14. In this he traced the Tidenham Dyke, with a few intervals, for nearly six miles in devious course along the Wye, from Carswall near the edge of Wollaston parish to the Sedbury cliffs near the Wyemouth, which last is the point to which local tradition and the uniform voice of history bring the DYKE of OFFA. See Memoir following.

² *Britannia Romana*, p. 469.

³ Seyer, vol. i, pp. 130, 139.

ford.¹ The line specified would have had communication with a spacious inlet, St. Pierre Pill in the mouth of the Murig or Mouton Stream, greatly exceeding in capaciousness and power of accommodation anything afforded by the inlet at Caldecot; and it would avoid the entrance to the perils of the Shoots, as the passage to Caldecot Pill avoided the dangers of the rapids at their termination below. An opinion of experienced pilots on this subject is given in the note below.

Here also, as at Caldecot, the landing would be protected by the great Camp of SUDBROOK,² projecting into the estuary, and seemingly of British origin, notwithstanding the passage referring it to the Romans, which is inserted by Holland, on the authority of Bishop Godwin, in his translation of Camden's *Britannia*. The medal in honour of Severus, here found according to the Bishop's statement, marks Roman occupation; but his observations as to bricks and discoveries of coins are considered inaccurate.

The communication between BLACKBOCK and CAERWENT is omitted by Seyer, who would see that the stream and

¹ Mr. Harris (*Archæologia*, ii, p. 2, 1763) conjectures the Roman Passage to have been in this line, viz., from Aust to Blackrock, not from any knowledge of the facilities of the currents, but with reference to the glaring inconvenience of a circuit by Chepstow. He appears, however, to have been grossly misinformed as to frequent occurrence of Roman Coins in the Severn mud at Charston, and equally so as to non-existence of earthworks in Tidenham.

² The Passage here mentioned is well known to the writer from personal observation; but he adds, that in January, 1843, he had an opportunity of taking the opinions of some experienced local pilots collectively, and they agreed in stating "that a slanting passage would be good from Aust to the Little Pill above Black rock, steering between the Wye currents and Dun Sands, and turning between Charston and the Ooze. That it might be effected five or perhaps six times in the day, would have less difficulty than any other from storms in winter, and would be the only Ferry (except that between Aust and Beachley) that could be counted on for constant communication."

³ For a description of Sudbrook Camp, see Seyer, i, cap. ii, s. 31.

marshes of the Nedern would prevent communication by Caldecot Portway, but somewhat unaccountably overlooked that existing line of road which Horseley conjectured to be the true one, the late route of the mail by Portescuet and Crick. It follows the firm ground, in nearly direct line where not diverted by hill, stream, or marsh, is confined almost necessarily by such obstacles to its existing and probably ancient line, and is skirted by undescribed relics of antiquity.

Proceeding from the present landing at Blackrock north-westwards, this road is first diverted to the south-west by the "Rough Grounds"¹ (marked in the Ordnance Map) in which is a Mount called HESTON Brake, raised artificially on the edge of a dingle, and having a seeming elevation very much increased by natural slopes towards the north-east. It has a flat summit, and commands a view of the Severn towards Aust, and is covered with a venerable shade of oaks and yew trees. In the centre of this summit is a space about twenty-seven feet long by nine in width, surrounded originally, as it seems, by thirteen rude upright stones, now time-worn, mossed over and matted with ivy. One is at the east end, two at the west, and three remain at each side, with spaces for the four which have been removed. Unless it is a sepulchral memorial, connected with the massacre after-mentioned, no conjecture as to its object can be offered.

The road thus diverted proceeds westwards through Portescuet, the "Portascinhth" of the Saxon Chronicle, which records it as the site of Harold's mansion in 1065, and the scene of the slaughter of his servants by Caradoc.² It extends to Caldecot Pill before-mentioned, and preserves in its

¹ On revisiting it in 1851, it was nearly inaccessible, from the growth of the coppices; but the taller of the two stones at the east end was seemingly between five and six feet. The rest was hid by coppice and briers.

² Saxon Chronicle, by Ingram, p. 252.

British appellation ("Porth-ys-coed"), an allusion to the ancient Port or Ferry of this sylvan district; but whether it has further reference to Gwent-ys-coed itself must be left to the Cambrian antiquary. At this point the road returns to its previous direction, avoiding the marsh and stream towards Caldecot, and proceeds north-westwards along the base of Stow Ball Hill, a conspicuous elevation with tumuli on its summit.

Further on, and on the left of the road, is another undescribed work, at the point where the rivulet from Crick receives a small stream previous to its own junction with the Nedern in the marsh. It is marked in the Ordnance Map imperfectly and without designation,¹ but is called "THE BERRIES" popularly and in the old maps at St. Pierre. The enclosure is triangular, two converging sides being fenced by the streamlets, and the third or north-eastern side is curved outwards, and has in its centre a truncated Mount or tumulus, about twelve feet in height above the *natural surface*, thirty feet in diameter on its flat summit, and ninety at the base. Mounds on each side of this complete the enclosure, excepting that a fosse, *surrounding* the Mount and adding to its artificial height thereby, and continued *outside* the mounds, makes two broad openings between them, and shows that the enclosure was not for military purposes.

Hence the present road passes on to its junction with the line of the vicinal road from Gloucester to Caerwent, falling into it at Crick, where Horseley noticed the point of divergence before-mentioned, and to which, when Coxe visited it, the pavement from Caerwent extended; and in the next field on the right, after this junction, is a large flattened tumulus, probably placed there with reference to this divergence, and illustrating Hatcher's² observation as to tumuli so placed being "direction-posts of antiquity."

¹ Immediately north of the words, "Balan Moor." The space enclosed is about the third of an acre.

² Hatcher's *Richard of Cirencester*, p. 104.

It is now time to sum up what has been said of the continuous line of communication deduced to this point. If the line mentioned in p. 23, as one considered by Seyer to have run from Bath by North Stoke, Wick, Berry Hill, Alveston, and Elberton to Aust, of which a continuation has been shown to be practicable over Severn by oblique passage to Blackrock, and thence by an existing line of road through these British remains to Crick and Caerwent, be measured, the result will be as follows :—The exact continuous line of way, as in other cases, cannot be proved ; but the entire length will be found to vary very little from Antonine's measure, and the stations of the Itinerary of Antonine or Richard might be adapted conjecturally, as in the other cases, by any one who wished it, to known camps. But it is not intended to advance any theory as to its identity with the military line of the Itineraries, although it is considered that there can be no doubt of a continuous British line having thus tended, and of later Roman occupation of points along it, and that every probability is in favour of its having been a line of long continuance as a vicinal line during the Roman period and after it, and of the Passage which forms part of it having been used when storms made the alleged lower line from Seamills to Caldecot undesirable or impracticable.

The continuation from Crick towards Caerwent and Caerleon is noticed in the next division, and a practicable combination of the *later* part of this Way with the *earlier* part of Leman's Via Julia, which, in the opinion of the writer, seems to approach nearer to what would be requisite for a Military Way of constant use than Leman's line by Seamills and Caldecot, is given in the following Section.

IV.—REMARKS ON THE MILITARY LINE BETWEEN AQUÆ SULIS AND VENTA, AS GIVEN IN THE ITINERARIES.

A ROUTE BETWEEN THE STATIONS OF BATH AND CAERWENT, hitherto unnoticed, which combines portions of Leman's

line and of the Trackway described in the last Section, accords with Antonine's numerals in two stages of the Itinerary, and is reconcilable to his general measure of ITER XIV. in the other, avoiding also the difficulties of the Seamarsh, and of the exposed Passage to Caldecot, would be as follows. To those who admit Leman's route, it will show an easy substitute for it in times of difficulty; and to those who reject his route as an entire line, it will exhibit a practicable alternative.

In the present Memoir (p. 17) it has been stated that Leman's theory, as to Antonine's line, brings it from Bath, by the vale of the Avon, to Seamills, with subsequent continuation over the marsh, westwards, to the Severn, and thence over the broad exposed estuary to Caldecot.

It is added, that if the marsh and transit are objected to, still Caldecot Pill would have been a petty port for general purposes, and the road from Caerwent would have had its use.

And it is thus also with the Roman Camp on the Avon near Seamills. If it had no transit to protect, the petty port guarded by it would remain, and for such purpose the road to it traced by Bitton, St. George's, and Durdham Down, would still have had an object.

And so also would that other way (a British and subsequently Roman vicinal way) which tended primarily from Gloucester towards Bristol, and which will be found as the RIDGEWAY, in its approach to ALMONDSBURY from the north, on the Ordnance Map, and there diverges from its main line south-westwards and proceeds by Knole Camp and Over, and then, in the direction of Cribb's Causeway, by Henbury and King's Weston to Seamills. (Seyer, i. 72.)

Now it is observable, and will be reverted to hereafter, that, though Seyer follows Leman in passing through *Seamills* to *Antonine's* point of transit, he adopts *Aust* as *Richard's*. To reach *Aust* he travels from Bath along the Avon *westwards* to Seamills, as Leman does; then turns *north-eastwards* in the line last-mentioned to Almondsbury; and then turns *north-*

westwards again, "to the Trajectus, the ferry at Aust"¹ (I, cap. ii, s. 58), specifying the route to it in a previous Chapter (i, s. 69), namely, "the lateral road to Aust—nearly as at present, through Olveston and Elberton."

A glance at the Map will show that, instead of this circuit by *two sides of a triangle* from St. George's to Seamills and thence to Almondsbury, he might have passed direct *along the base of it* from St. George's to Almondsbury, and this by an admitted line of ancient way. The Roman route from Bath by Bitton is well confirmed, and its advance westwards to St. George's also, by Leman and Seyer (Coxe's Monmouth, i, p. *14; Seyer's Bristol, i, p. 151); and it is then lost in Bristol suburbs. It could not reach Durdham Down, however, without passing through those suburbs, and could not have done so without cutting the ancient way tending from Gloucester to Bristol, by Almondsbury, as above mentioned. The *precise line* of such ancient way between Almondsbury and Bristol is indefinite, and it is marked in Hatcher's Map, in his Richard of Cirencester, as an uncertain continuation of a certain Roman way. Perhaps it divided into two lines there as at present, and as British Roads often did, or it might take a middle course between them, as the projected railway from Bristol to Aust, sanctioned by Parliament, would have done.

A comparison of Taylor's Gloucestershire Map of 1777 with the Ordnance Map, will show a nearly connected line by which one of these branches may have passed, and names, including a "Cold Harbour," which invite antiquarian speculation. Be the exact line of such former route however as it may, it is clear that an ancient way tending from north to south, as the continuation of the Ridgeway would have done, would have been intersected successively by Seyer's British Trackway and Leman's Roman line, severally tending from east to

¹ Seyer here uses Trajectus in the sense of Transit only, as he places Antonine's Station of that name at Bristol, i, p. 144; and Richard's at Sudbrook, i, p. 136.

west, namely, from Bath to the Severn, and would supply a communication between them. The traveller of ancient days, who preferred the Vale of the Avon to the ascent towards Stoke, might proceed by Leman's line to the present St. George's, and then, rejecting the marsh and the transit in its later part, might ascend by this connecting link to the Trackway, and proceed westwards to a surer Passage from Aust.

II. On the second point, namely, the possible identity of such combined lines with RICHARD'S VIA JULIA, or with the route described in ANTONINE'S ITER XIV, such reader only is addressed as is conversant with the theories, doubts Leman's route over the Marsh from Seamills to the estuary and his exposed transit to Caldecot, and agrees with Seyer (Vol. I, cap. ii. ss. 32, 33, and p. 17 preceding), that the Seamarsh ranging northwards from the Avon to Aust was impracticable in the Roman period. Such reader may refer to the geologically coloured Ordnance Map, trace the junction of the firm red marl and limestone district with the Seamarsh skirted by the road from King's Weston to Almondsbury before-mentioned, and trace also Seyer's British Trackway from Bath to Almondsbury, and then looking northwards from the Avon, he will find all probable lines from Bath to Aust contained in these limits, and Aust, *under such circumstances*, the nearest point for transit. Even if he rejects Aust, and proceeds two miles northwards beyond Elberton to Oldbury (most unnecessarily, but in the train of older antiquaries), he will still proceed to it from the south by the way to Aust, through Almondsbury and Olveston, and as far as Elberton.

III. THE ITINERARIES themselves are next to be considered, and first that attributed to *Richard*, native of Cirencester, Monk of Westminster, whose ITER XI, containing the VIA JULIA, relates to the present subject. It is contained in Bertram's Tres Scriptores (p. 39), among the "Diaphragmata," professed by Richard (the alleged Author) to be

collected from Roman fragments, Ptolemy, and miscellaneous sources. The History of the discovery of the MS. by Bertram will be found in his own work cited above, Stukeley's Memoir, Reynolds's Antonine, and Britton's Life of Hatcher. The condemnatory points regarding this suspected authority are best given in the notice prefixed by the Historical Society to the earlier copies of their edition of Richard of Devizes.

Iter XI (Bertram, p. 39) proceeds thus from Bath:—"Ad Abonam, MP. vj; ad Sabrinam, vj; unde Trajectu intras in Britanniam Secundam et Stationem Trajectum, MP. iij; Venta Silurum, viij; Isca Colonia, ix, unde fuit Aaron Martyr."

In the first stage, vj miles would agree with placing "AD ABONAM" at Bitton. The next vj miles, to "AD SABRINAM," would neither reach the Severn nor any possible former, but not existing Station *near* it. Three miles from Aust (if this place is intended) would agree with a passage from thence to the landing place at Blackrock, near to Sudbrook Camp, considered by Seyer to be Richard's "STATIO TRAJECTUS," which agrees with Richard as to being on the western shore, or in "Britannia Secunda," but not in "entry by traject into the Station," as there is no stream that could have maintained a Pill or inlet. Hatcher avoids this point, and Leman seems to confound Richard's Trajectus with the distinct Station so named by Antonine.¹

The *eight* miles from the landing place to Venta should have been three, if Blackrock is intended to be the former.

WITH ANTONINE the case is different. His ITER (inverted and taken *westwards* as Richard's is) would be "TRAJECTUS, vj, MP.; ABONE, ix; VENTA SILURUM, ix."

¹ See remarks on the Roman position lately discovered in Sedbury, and on the accordance of the distances of Aust, Sedbury, and Caerwent; with Richard's distances of Sabrina, Trajectus, and Venta, in the Memoir following.

It is proposed to adopt Gale's well-known *transposition* of TRAJECTUS and ABONE, placing *Abone* "ad ripam Abonis fluvii," and Archdeacon Rudge's limitation of *Trajectus* to an estuary or river broad enough to require the aid of navigation for transport to the other side.

ABONE (thus transposed) will agree with BITTON in distance.

The ix miles of the next stage will not reach ELBERTON CAMP. Possibly xvj would exceed it, and this may be put to the account of error in numerals, perhaps corrigible. There is a clear excess of v miles in the *total* of this Iter, described as 103 instead of 98 miles, to which last sum only the stated several stages amount. This surplusage is not required in other places, and a further general surplusage is applicable since the admitted substitution of Silchester instead of Reading for "Calleva," as the stage following Spinæ or Speenhamland at the eastern terminus of this Iter.

The remaining viij miles between TRAJECTUS and VENTA SILURUM will agree with the distance between ELBERTON CAMP and CAERWENT, including the passage from Aust to Blackrock. The identity of Caerwent itself with Venta Silurum is uniformly admitted.

THE READER may compare this with the Ordnance Map, and the authorities cited, and he will find it a nearer approximation than has been previously suggested; but where numerals are corrupted, and the very ruins and vestiges of the former roads have, in most cases, disappeared, precise confirmation is almost hopeless.

V.—VICINAL ROAD FROM GLEVUM TO VENTA SILURUM
(THE RYKNIELD STREET OF HATCHER).

The line of way here, as before, is assumed, where correction is not requisite, from previous authorities, and illustration of it limited to those confirmations of it which have been personally observed. Hatcher considered this to be a part of the main line of the British Ryknield Street, which he

deduces from Tynemouth to Wall near Lichfield, thence onwards to Gloucester, and by Lydney to Chepstow, and in further (probable) course by Abergavenny to St. David's. The remains of this British Street, afterwards adopted by the Romans, are an unpaved hollow way, identified by its bearing, and by the names, camps, and discovered relics in its vicinity.

Points nearer Gloucester are left to local antiquaries, this memoir taking up the supposed line at Sparkes's Hill, west of Newnham, where it appears as a disused hollow way to the right of the present turnpike road. Proceeding westward it is called Old Street at the top of Nibley Hill; and gives name to a tenement there, and after passing the Purlieu occurs again on the right as a remarkable deep, hollow, disused way in the descent to Lydney.

Between the town of Lydney and Ailburton it appears next as a hollow way between the present road and the hills on the right crowned with two Roman camps,¹ of which one contains

¹ General plans of these Camps, which are only noticed thus briefly here as proofs of Roman Settlement, are given in *Archæologia*, vol. v., and some of their treasures in Lysons's *Reliquiæ Britannico-Romanæ*, but these afford faint ideas of the interest of these Remains.

Within the greater Camp, when excavated under directions of its owner, the late Right Honourable Charles Bathurst, were discovered the foundation walls of an irregular Quadrangle, the sides of which averaged severally about 200 feet, exclusive of a range of offices along the N.W. side, and of a Palatial Fabric on its upper or N.E. side.

This Fabric, once, possibly, the residence of Flavius Senilis, hereafter mentioned, had a Portico along its west front, and an open court in the centre, surrounded by corridors, in which, and in various other apartments, tessellated pavements occurred. This building measured about 150 by 135 feet.

On the north side of this building, separated from it by an open space, were Baths and Hypocausts, within a detached building measuring about 125 feet in length by 70 in greatest breadth.

Near the centre of the principal Quadrangle was (as is supposed) the temple of the tutelar deity, the "TEMPLUM NODENTIS" mentioned in the Inscription below. It was about 95 feet long by 75 broad, and in it

the remains of the once splendid Temple dedicated to a Deity

were three tessellated pavements, the largest having the name of the erector (as in iv) placed over a fanciful border representing the twisted bodies of salmons, the fish of the Severn.

The whole was excavated under the direction of its late owner, the relics and coins carefully preserved, plans, drawings, and engravings executed, in which eleven tessellated pavements are included, and of which a very limited impression was taken. All was then covered again for preservation. Among the relics are coins to the time of Allectus inclusive, a statuette, votive offerings of limbs supposed to be acknowledgments of the sanitary powers of Nodens or Nodons, and three votive inscriptions given below, together with the Inscription in the Temple. No. III has been printed by Lysons, the others are not known to have been published, and are given with their errors of grammar and spelling.

- | | |
|------|-----------------------|
| I. | D. M. NODONTI. |
| | I. L. BLANDINVS. |
| | ARMATVRA |
| | V. S. L. M. |
| II. | PECTILLVS. |
| | VOTVM. QVOD. |
| | PROMISSIT. |
| | DEO. NVDENTE |
| | M. DEDIT. |
| III. | DIVO. |
| | NODENTI. SILVIANVS. |
| | ANILVM. PERDEDIT. |
| | DEMEDIAM. PARTEM. |
| | DONAVIT. NODENTI. |
| | INTERQVIBVS. NOMEN. |
| | SENICIANI. NOLLIS. |
| | PERMITTAS. SANITA— |
| | TEM. DONEC. PERFERAT. |
| | VSQVE. TEMPLVM. NO— |
| | DENTIS. |

This singular imprecation against SENICIANUS and all of his name, with reference to supposed abstraction of the ring of Silvianus, is rendered more remarkable from the actual discovery of a gold ring at Silchester, in 1785, inscribed "SENICIANE VIVAS II DE (SECUNDE). See *Archæologia*, vol. viii, p. 449.

iv. Imperfect, but the seeming number of deficient letters is shown by points, as follows :—

D. A...FLAVIVS. SENILIS. PR. REL. EX. STEPIBVS.
POSSVIT O....ANTE. VICTORINO. INTER...ATE.

of supposed sanitary powers and is most rich in antiquities. It has here (as seems most probable) been crossed by a Roman line descending from the camp to the Severn Marsh, partially but not continuously explored.¹

The line then passes through Alvington, where Camden, deceived by similarity of sound, placed his *ABONE*, and to which, in consequence of this conjecture, he erroneously brought the military way of Antonine's *Iter XIV*, from *Venta*.

Crossing the Cone river, it next enters that part of the forest peninsula once called the Earl Marshall's Liberty, which was a part of the Marches, and re-annexed by statute of Henry VIII to Gloucestershire, from which it had been severed.²

At this point on the left is a bold swell of ground, the *Aluredston* of Domesday and the *Alverdeston Grange* of the *Tintern Charters*, now *Plusterwine*. Coins of unascertained age and remains of buildings are said to have occurred here; and at the eastern end of it, bounded by a former inlet of the Severn, where further shelter may have been afforded by the *Guscar* rocks, are the fields called "*the Chesters*," a name of promise unfulfilled by any results in recent railway excavations.

After this, *STROAT* (the *Stræte* of *Kemble's Codex Diplomaticus*), with the occurrence of the names of *Din-y-gaer* and *Oldbury Field* on the right, give some indications supported by traces of earthworks and strength of position arising from irregularities of surface, which would confine the pass, at any time to its present line. And stronger evidence may be gathered from discoveries upon *Tidenham Chase* on the right, previously mentioned as crossed by the *Way from Beachley*

¹ Plan and notes communicated by Charles Bathurst, Esq.

² See Memoir by the author of this in *Archæologia*, vol. xxix, p. 22.

³ *Codex Diplomaticus Anglo-Saxonum*, vol. ii, p. 327; vol. iii, p. 444, 450.

to Monmouth.¹ On this elevation a brass coin of the younger Faustina was lately found, and within a tumulus, in 1825, the ROMAN ALTAR lately presented by the writer to the Institute. Other tumuli occur between this last-mentioned point and the supposed Roman works adjacent to the Saxon Dyke at Madgets, the Modiete of Domesday.

The further approach of this street to Chepstow through Tidenham,² the descent of it to the Wye through the Tuts-hill coppices, the traditional ford, the ascent up Piercefield Cliffs, and the visible continuation of it between Chepstow Castle and Crossway Green, have been given in the memoir before mentioned.³ Additional remains of the Saxon Dyke have been traced, since the publication of that memoir, from the vicinity of Penmoyle along the edge of the Wye Cliffs to the point where this line reaches the banks of the Wye. The Dyke does not interfere with the road, but has a break in its course on the cliff above it.

In its further continuation, this way, after entering Monmouthshire, would take up the communication from Beachley already mentioned, after passing Hardwick, and would subsequently pass through the valley between St. Pierre and

¹ See p. 26, preceding.

² It may be desirable to mention that on a slight elevation N.W. of Tidenham Church is an enclosure called the *Stony lands*, once fenced by earthen mounds and guarded on two sides by deep dingles, and by slopes on the others; and it would have commanded, if a military post, the street or line of way here traced, as well as a hollow way leading from the ford of the Wye at Llancaut, to the Pill House on the Severn, a landing place opposite to the Camps of Oldbury. Roman Coins have lately been found in the neighbouring churchyard. But this enclosure was more likely, from its position, to have been of monastic than military character, and most probably the Saxon Grange of the Seculars of Bath Abbey under King Edwy's Charter. It certainly belonged to their successors, the Monks of de Lyra and those of Shene.

³ Since its composition, the British coin engraved in the Journal of the Archæological Association, vol. iv, p. 257, was found in the Castle ditch, and one coin of Allectus near the same spot previously. Others subsequently found are noticed in the additions to this Memoir.

Runston by a line now sinuous, but drawn as a *direct line* in the old St. Pierre maps, and popularly considered "the Roman Way." At Crick this Way (now disused as a public road) joins that line from Blackrock, which was the subject of the last division, and in its further progress towards Caerwent becomes the "remarkable" military way described by Horseley in 1732.¹

AT THIS RETURN TO VENTA the precise inquiry ends ; but it may be desirable to preserve a notice of Roman remains found at the point where the continuation to Caerleon approaches the defile between Penhow and the lower Wentwood range, at the distance of about one mile from Caerwent.

HERE, at a place marked as the "Five Lanes" in the Ordnance Map, in the field N.E. of their intersection, is a large flattened tumulus like that at Crick, stated to have been opened without result. In the next field westwards (the property of the Tynte family and called Cherry Orchard) Roman remains of great interest were found about twenty years ago. "One very handsome tessellated pavement was destroyed by children, and a large portion of another pavement was subsequently found, but immediately covered up as the only means of preservation."² Scattered "tesserae" occurred on the surface of the field several years afterwards, when the writer examined it.

It is unnecessary to pursue the united lines further towards CAERLEON, the next Station, where accumulated results of excavations have been duly appreciated, and liberality and taste have been equally conspicuous in their preservation and arrangement.

¹ See page 26. The remains of this "undoubtedly Roman way" were visible when Coxe visited it in 1799 ; see Tour, p. *20.

² Communication from the late Col. Lewis, of St. Pierre, who was present at the discovery of the second pavement.

ADDITIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE VICINAL LINE OF ROMAN
ROAD BETWEEN GLOUCESTER AND CHEPSTOW.*

The following notices of further CASUAL DISCOVERIES since the preceding Memoir was printed in the Journal of the Institute, give additional illustrations of the Roman line of communication between Gloucester and Caerwent, so far as *relates* to the part between the CONE and the WYE.

I. THE CHESTERS in Woolaston. The late Rector, the Rev. Charles Bryan, confirmed the tradition of *Roman* coins being found here before his time of residence, and the author has specimens of undoubted Roman brick and flue-tiles discovered in agricultural operations, and squared stones, marked by the peculiar mortar of that people adhering to them.

II. At STROAT, many of the indications of the former mounds in the Oldbury field have been levelled.

III. In TIDENHAM, direct evidence of Roman presence has been given by discovery of coins in the churchyard, below that inclosure, of doubtful antiquity, mentioned as the "Stony Lands," to the north of the chancel and east of the north aisle. They are well known coins, of third brass. One has the head of "Constantinus P. F. Aug." and on the reverse an armed figure of Mars, and Legend, "Soli invicto Comiti." The other has the head of Crispus Nobilis C." with an altar on the reverse, and legend, "Beata Tranquillitas." See Nos. 511 and 516 in Mr. C. R. Smith's Catalogue.

IV. The recently discovered Roman Position, at Sedbury in this parish, is the subject of the following memoir.

V. The line of road between TUTSHILL and the Wye has been laid bare by agricultural excavations, and in clearing the adjacent wood, the stones which formed the termination of the Saxon Dyke at this point were clearly exhibited, but are now removed.

* See pp. 38, and 39, preceding.

VI. After passing to the Monmouthshire bank of the Wye, Roman coins, (small brass) have been found to the right of the street on entering Chepstow, in addition to that of Allectus, previously discovered, and are in the author's possession. One is a coin of Constantius I, and there are three of Gallienus. These are mentioned more particularly as no Roman Antiquities have previously been found in Chepstow, excepting the bricks mixed with the masonry of the Norman Castle, which are generally considered to have been taken from former buildings of the Roman period.

III.

OBSERVATIONS ON DISCOVERIES OF ROMAN REMAINS IN
SEDBURY, WITHIN THE PARISH OF TIDENHAM, GLOUCESTERSHIRE; AND ON THE SUPPOSED SITE OF A
ROMAN MILITARY POSITION THERE, NEAR THE CON-
FLUENCE OF THE SEVERN AND WYE.¹

THE object of the present Memoir is to identify the precise locality of a Military Position on the right bank of the æstuary of the Severn, where Roman remains have lately been discovered in great abundance, which is surrounded by lines of British and Roman communications, and is near to all the supposed ancient passages of the Severn. The object is limited to preserving a notice of this discovery and of the characteristics of the locality.

The exact site is marked in the map which accompanies these observations, and also in a plan drawn with reference to other objects of antiquity, and engraved for Vol. xxix of the *Archæologia*, pl. ii, p. 16. It lies between the tumulus there indicated, which has been a fire-beacon, and the Sedbury cliffs; but it is necessary, first, to notice the geological character of the ground, for the selection of it for military purposes would turn on the facilities for defence given by these peculiarities.

The Cliffs, which form the barrier between this high platform

¹ Communicated to the Section of Antiquities at the Meeting of the Institute in Gloucester, July 21, 1860, and printed in the Journal of that Society, vol. xvii, p. 189.

and the Severn, rise to the height of nearly 200 feet above its low water mark, and consist of new red sandstone overlaid with lias covered by transported red marle and gravel. These beds are nearly horizontal, and being almost unbroken by faults in the part described, the lias clays formed a natural reservoir and impounded the water, previous to that recent drainage which led to the discovery of the remains described in the present memoir. A few years ago, the adjoining fields, on the northerly side, were almost impassable after heavy rains, and in earlier days must have formed an absolute marsh, affording a defence on the land side, as the lofty precipices would give defence towards the æstuary. The oblong parallelogram, thus defended, would be divided from this former marsh by two small brooks which run towards N.E. and S.E., or nearly so, and deep dingles at those extremities, and would complete the defence of an elevated platform of about twenty-six acres.

It is not intended to claim for the Military Position, thus described, any identity with a Roman Station in its more peculiar sense, namely, that of the Itinerary of Antonine, neither does the writer vary, on account of these later discoveries, from what he has already written respecting the ancient communications with Venta Silurum from the left bank of the Severn,¹ which have been admitted by Mr. Octavius Morgan in his excellent memoir on that celebrated fortress.² It is due, however, to any antiquary, who may respect the authority of Richard of Cirencester, to state, that the distances of the newly discovered position, in Sedbury, from Aust on the left bank of the Severn, where some have been disposed to place Richard's *Sabrina*, and from Caerwent on the right

¹ Memoir on the British and Roman Roads communicating with Caerwent; Transactions at the Meeting of the Institute at Bristol in 1851, p. 40.

² Excavations within the walls of Caerwent in 1855. By Octavius Morgan, Esq., M.P., F.S.A. *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvi, p. 418.



ROMAN POTTERY DISCOVERED AT SEDBURY, 1860.

Height of the largest Urn, about $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Height of the two-handled Urn, 7 inches.

bank, *exactly tally* with those in the well-known passage in the "Diaphragmata" relating to *Sabrina, Trajectus Statio*, and *Venta Silurum*. There can be no doubt that this position in Sedbury would protect the vicinal line from Aust to Blestium or Monmouth, or that the intersection of this with the vicinal road from Glevum to Venta would give easy communication with the last-named station, which, under difficulties of passage, might be an *alternative* occasionally desirable. The line given by Richard, according to Bertram, mentions *SABRINA*, from which, "*by traject*," you enter into *Britannia Secunda*, and into the *STATION TRAJECTUS*, III miles, and thence to *VENTA SILURUM* VIII miles.¹ It is proper to note this striking coincidence, more striking as the Position in Sedbury has been hitherto totally unknown, and to leave the matter for further discovery and consideration.

We may now turn to the Roman or Britannico-Roman lines of communication which environ this Position on every side, but without dwelling on the passages of the Severn towards Caerwent, to the south of Aust. These would be,—

1. The before-mentioned vicinal line from Aust, continued on the right bank of the Severn through Beachley and Sedbury towards Blestium or Monmouth.

2. Another line from Glevum towards Venta Silurum, intersecting the last, and grazing Sedbury on the north-west, respecting which much additional information has lately been collected.²

3. Two other lines tending towards Caerwent, being in continuation of a very ancient passage from the left bank of the Severn, coincident with Gale's "Traject or ferry over Severn" from "Oldbury." This was first clearly identified by Seyer,³ and is still used as an occasional passage from Oldbury

¹ Iter xi.—"Ab Aquis, etc.... Ad Sabrinam VI, unde trajectu intras in Britanniam Secundam et Stationem Trajectum, m.p. III, Venta Silurum VIII."—Ricardus Corinensis, lib. i, cap. vii, in Bertram's *Tres Scriptores*, p. 39. Original Edition, Havniæ, 1757.

² See pp. 41 and 42.

³ *Memoirs of Bristol*, vol. i, p. 78.

to two several inlets or "pills" with gravel landing places at each end of the Sedbury Cliffs. Lines of ancient ways can be traced, through the woodlands of Sedbury, from these landing places to junction with the two vicinal Roman roads last mentioned, and complete the circuit of roads around it.

We now come to the recently discovered Roman remains and to the site of them, surrounded by these various lines of early communications. It could not be supposed that a conspicuous site, thus girt with communications, commanding a view of the greater elevations from Bromsgrove to the Quantock Hills, of the Ostorian camps on the Cotswold range in front, and of a vale rich in the Roman settlements indicated in Lysons' Woodchester Map, and of every possible tract of the Severn æstuary, could be left unoccupied by the neighbouring garrisons. It was therefore no surprise, a few years ago, to discover the remains of a kiln, between the tumulus or beacon before-mentioned and the Sedbury cliffs, with its dilapidated walls and fractured grinding stones, and very numerous fragments of Roman pottery lying near the general surface, or in the excavated claypits marked in the illustrative plan given in illustration of the present memoir. But the Spring of 1860 brought greater discoveries.

On opening drains to the depth of four feet, in the grounds near the Cliffs, to the south of the tumulus before-mentioned, Roman pottery was discovered in each successive cutting, in the lines marked on the plan, at the points where the draining excavations crossed the *deeper* ancient lines. The pottery, hitherto found in these later excavations, contains some cinerary vases, one of which coincides with an engraved Cirencester vase, but the greater part consists of *amphoræ*, *lagenæ*, *ollæ*, and *mortaria* of ordinary Roman ware, more or less fractured, and also glazed red Samian with the stamps of the makers.¹ There are also remains of

¹ The following names occur—*DOCCIVS F*—noticed elsewhere, as in plates of Remains, Lydney, Gloucestershire, and in London, given in Mr. Roach Smith's List of Marks in his Roman London, p. 102;—*M*.



ROMAN POTTERY DISCOVERED AT SEDBURY, 1860.

Outside diameter of Central Basin $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

lead, of ware repaired with lead, coal, cinders of coal and of wood, and glass. One square, defined by excavated lines seventy yards in length on each side, and exhibiting choicer remains in its excavations, seems to have been an inclosure set apart for superior occupants. With these were found very numerous bones, of which, those of cows, calves, and sheep, are identified, many of them bearing marks of the knife and of the action of fire.

Various tiles have been found, according exactly with those of *Caerwent* in patterns, curves, and indentations, but as no mortared foundations have been discovered, it is conjectured that the soldiers occupying the position, either occasionally guarding the beacon and the look-out over the passages, or using it, as is highly probable, for the purposes of *Castra Æstiva* connected with *Caerwent* and its *Legio Augusta Secunda*, had tents only. Such temporary occupation for the purpose of summer camps is well explained in *Whitaker's Manchester*, Book I. Chap. VI.

It may be better to recapitulate that the defences of the area are the Cliffs towards the Severn, a former morass on the land side, and steep slopes at each end. On the summit at the southerly end are remains of a mound which may either have been an ancient territorial limit, or relics of an earlier military one. The northerly slope has been made much steeper by artificial escarpments.

Examination may possibly be resumed hereafter, the late shallow diggings having been limited to the requirements of agricultural improvements, but the results may be one step towards commencing investigations on the Silurian side of the æstuary, in extension of those which Mr. Baker so successfully completed among the opposite outposts of *BRITANNIA PRIMA*.

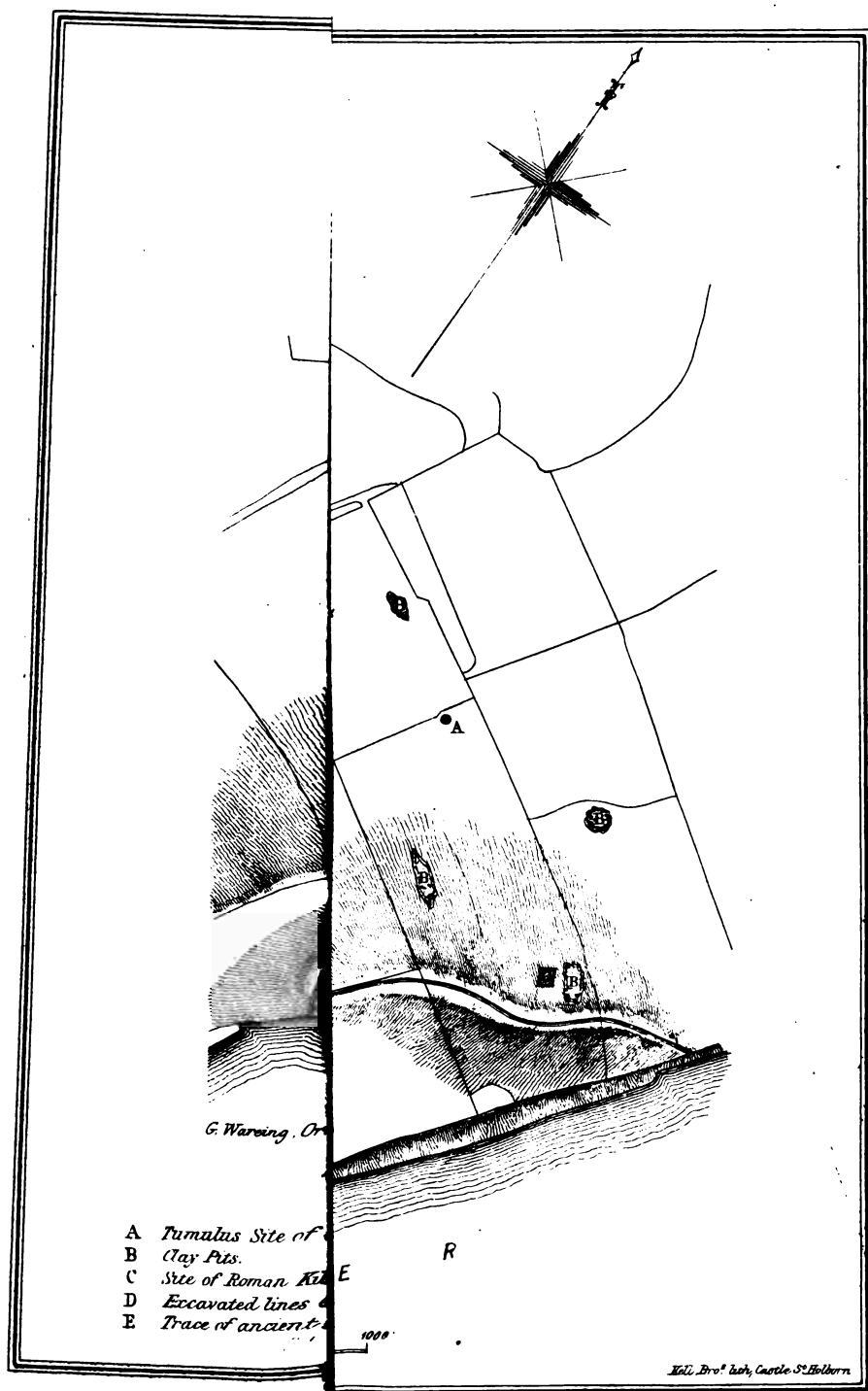
INNA probably inverted, as *NN* are reversed in the impression, and to be read—*ANNI · M*—or, according to Mr. Roach Smith's List, *ANYNI · M*—; and—*DEGTNOMI*—Mr. Roach Smith gives—*DECMI · M*—and—*DECVMINI M*—as occurring in London.

SUBSEQUENT to the communication of the preceding memoir to the Institute, THE EXAMINATION OF THE SITE OF THE ROMAN POSITION was resumed, and completed in the autumn of 1860.

A second square, of the same dimensions as the first, described in p. 47, was found to adjoin to it on the N.E. side, the entire space formed a parallelogram of about 140 yards by seventy yards, as marked in the plan. One nearly uniform ditch or fosse surrounded this space, being ten feet wide at the top, and four feet seven inches in the base. It was sloped inwards, in a much greater degree on the side towards the inclosure than on the outer side, seemingly with the object of supporting some former bank or mound, with part of which the fosse appeared to have been filled up, and which differed in materials from the soil in which the fosse itself had been excavated. A slight irregularity of outline occurred on the side of the parallelogram nearest to the Cliffs.

The same kind of remains continued to be found. The pottery was such as had been used for wine vessels, for the repasts of the soldiers, or the culinary preparations. Various fragments of iron occurred, but too much broken or corroded for identification.

One fragment of a vessel, encaustically coloured, and raised in bas-relief, represented the chase of a hind by a dog, and is remarkable from its close resemblance to the figure on one of the vessels given in Mr. Roach Smith's *Antiquities of Richborough* (p. 59). That station was held by soldiers of the AUGUSTA SECUNDA, the legion which also garrisoned Caerleon, and to which the formation of this Position may most probably be referred.



- A Tumulus Site of
- B Clay Pits
- C Site of Roman Kiln
- D Excavated lines
- E Trace of ancient

1000

H. L. Bro' in the Castle St. Helens

SAXON
AND
ANGLO-NORMAN PERIOD.

IV.

REMARKS ON EARTHWORKS AT SEDBURY, IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE, TRADITIONALLY KNOWN AS OFFA'S DYKE, AND PROVED BY THE DIPLOMATA ANGLO-SAXONUM TO HAVE EXISTED IN THE SAXON PERIOD.¹

A BRIEF outline of the general course of the Dyke of Offa is desirable before proceeding to description of the existing mounds which tradition has named as its southern termination.

Other Dykes on the edges of MERCIA—Wansdyke, for instance, on the south, and the Devil's Dyke on the east—were demarcations made by adjacent nations, and cast up, as it were, against Mercia, to which we may add the boundaries formed by marsh, sea, and river, including the northern streams and estuaries of the Humber and Mersey. It remained for Offa to define the line of separation between his Mercians and the Britons of Wales.

This was effected (according to the Polychronicon) by the forming of a dyke, "*quæ ab Austro, juxta Bristoliam, jugiter se extendit in Boream, fluminaq; Sabrinæ et Deæ in eorum pene primordiis transcendit, &c. (et?) usque ad ostium fluminis Deæ ultra Cestriam, juxta Castrum de Flint, inter collem Carbonum et Monasterium de Basingwerk in mare se protendit.*" Camden says more concisely, "*a Devæ ostio usque ad Vagæ.*"²

¹ From a Memoir by the author of this work, printed in *Archæologia*, vol. xxix, pp. 13-17, with additions from a later Memoir printed for private presentation in 1859, after the publication of Kemble's "*Diplomata Anglo-Saxonum*", in which the Dyke, now remaining on Buttington Hill, is mentioned as existing in the year 956.

² Gale's *XV Scriptores*, i, p. 194.



*The Southern Termination of OFFA'S DYKE on the Sedbury Cliffs
overhanging the Severn Estuary.*

Completed by J. Ormerod, 1851

C. Dalziel, 1850



It is scarcely necessary to mention that the ancient boundary line thus described was formed between Mercia and Wales in the latter part of the eighth century, and that the earthworks, or the liminary streams which sometimes formed the boundary unaccompanied by the earthworks, ranged southwards from the estuary of the Dee through the present counties of Flint, Denbigh, Salop, Montgomery, Radnor, Hereford, Monmouth, and Gloucester, to the Wye mouth.

Occasionally, where a river became the virtual boundary, the Dyke may also be found as an accompaniment to such actual liminary line. Thus, in the present instance, where the WYE is considered to have been the real national boundary, a mound is drawn across the Beachley peninsula at BUTTINTON from that river to the Severn above their confluence. From other instances of similar arrangement, one may be selected opposite to Welchpool, where the Severn alone appears as the ancient boundary above the MONTGOMERYSHIRE¹ BUTTINTON, and below it the Dyke ranges by the side of the river.

A description of the northern and central portions of the Dyke was published by Pennant in 1793,² and later observations by Meyrick and Fosbroke. A Memoir, more particularly relating to the southern fragments, by the writer of this, was published by the Society of Antiquaries in 1840.³ A masterly account of the entire line, with which part of the last mentioned Memoir was incorporated, was given subsequently by Mr. Longueville Jones in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, and in the same work will be found Dr. Guest's remarks on the vestiges of that part of the line which abutted on the estuary of the Dee.

It may be added, that during a tour along the accessible

¹ Part of Montgomeryshire district was within Shropshire in 1233, when the King, by his *LETTERS PATENT*, ordered the men of Chirbury Hundred on *this side Offedich* to obey the Sheriff of Shropshire in matters relating to the jurisdiction of that Hundred, and directs the Constable of Montgomery not to prevent it. Eyton's *Shropshire*, xi, 53.

² Tour in Wales, p. 278.

³ *Archæologia*, xxix, 13.

points of the Dyke, between Mold in Flintshire and Bridge Sollers in Herefordshire, in 1845, the result was satisfactory as to the accordance of the Tidenham mounds in form and character with the more northerly portions, and particularly in the adaptation of the Dyke to the sides of hills and its avoidance of projecting flats and headlands by the sides of rivers.

The discussion now turns to the DYKE itself, which after proceeding southwards from the Dee, as already explained, to the neighbourhood of Hereford, reaches Bridge Sollers on the left bank of the Wye to the north of that City, and *below* this point THE WYE ITSELF is generally considered to have been the BOUNDARY OF MERCA AND WALES.

But *discontinuous lines* of earthworks occur at intervals along this bank *as they do on the left bank of the Severn near the Shropshire Buttinton*, and to these attention is now directed.

Nothing has occurred to support the tradition of a continuation of the line near COLEFORD, conjectured to derive its name from CLAWDH OFFA, but to the south of Monmouth a dyke is said¹ to accompany the Wye on its left bank through coppices

¹ Mr. Fosbroke's personal examination of the Dyke through these coppices is given in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. cii, part ii, p. 501, and he has other communications in vol. ci, part ii, p. 582, and in vol. iii, (new series,) p. 490, in the latter of which he appears to doubt the fact of the Dyke, which he had traced along the Wye between Monmouth and Tidenham, being the genuine Offa's Dyke, chiefly from its not pursuing a direction conformable with precise points of the compass. Sir Samuel Meyrick's observation on this objection is, that Roman roads through conquered countries varied little from precise directions, but that Offa, marking "the boundary of his kingdom, extending much farther west in some places than in others, could not avoid giving to his work an irregular appearance." A further conjecture of Mr. Fosbroke's, as to these lines being Roman, is noticed in page 5. No objection is offered to a theory of earlier works as a possible *substructure*, and to an adaptation of it, by the Mercian King, to his later purposes. The Dyke would not be less entitled to be considered Offa's Dyke from being, in some places, re-constructed on earlier foundations.

below St. Briavels. The line of it bears on the precipitous elevations of Tidenham parish, which commence at a point immediately opposite Tintern Abbey and Penterry, and it has been traced by Mr. Fosbroke through these coppices.

ON THE EDGE OF THESE HILLS the Author's *personal observation* takes up the line of mounds recommencing near the joint of Tidenham and Woolastone parishes, and within Madgett (the Modiete of Domesday) and tending, in the first instance, between the Wye and other earthworks of earlier origin.

At this point a lofty and continuous mound, corresponding with the general described form of the Dyke in its more northern districts, commences, and proceeds through the thickets and coppices of Caerswall wood, along the hill-tops, to a remarkable rock called "the Devil's Pulpit," and is thence continued over similar wooded elevations, having Tidenham Chase on the left, and the low grounds of *Wallwere* on the right, to a slade or marshy slope, descending from the Chase to the Wye, at which point the mound ceases.

Recommencing on the opposite side of the slade, it continues along the edge of the cliff, but in a much less perfect form, to Denhill Hill, where it again ceases, having the farm of *Wallhope*¹ in the valley on the left. After this succeed the precipitous crags of Banagor; which continue to the neck of land joining Llancaut to Tidenham, where earthworks of a different character occur (as hereafter noticed), but which popularly bear the name of Offa's Dyke.

After this the mound is discontinued (or may, more probably, be deemed to have been removed) along the edge of the lofty precipices of Penmoyle, and across the top of the slope at Tutshill, which constitutes the present approach to Chepstow, and which was also traversed by the ancient vicinal road from Gloucester to Caerwent. It ceases to appear subsequently

¹ The allusion to the neighbouring Dyke in the Saxon names of *Wallwere* and *Wallhope*, will be obvious to the reader.

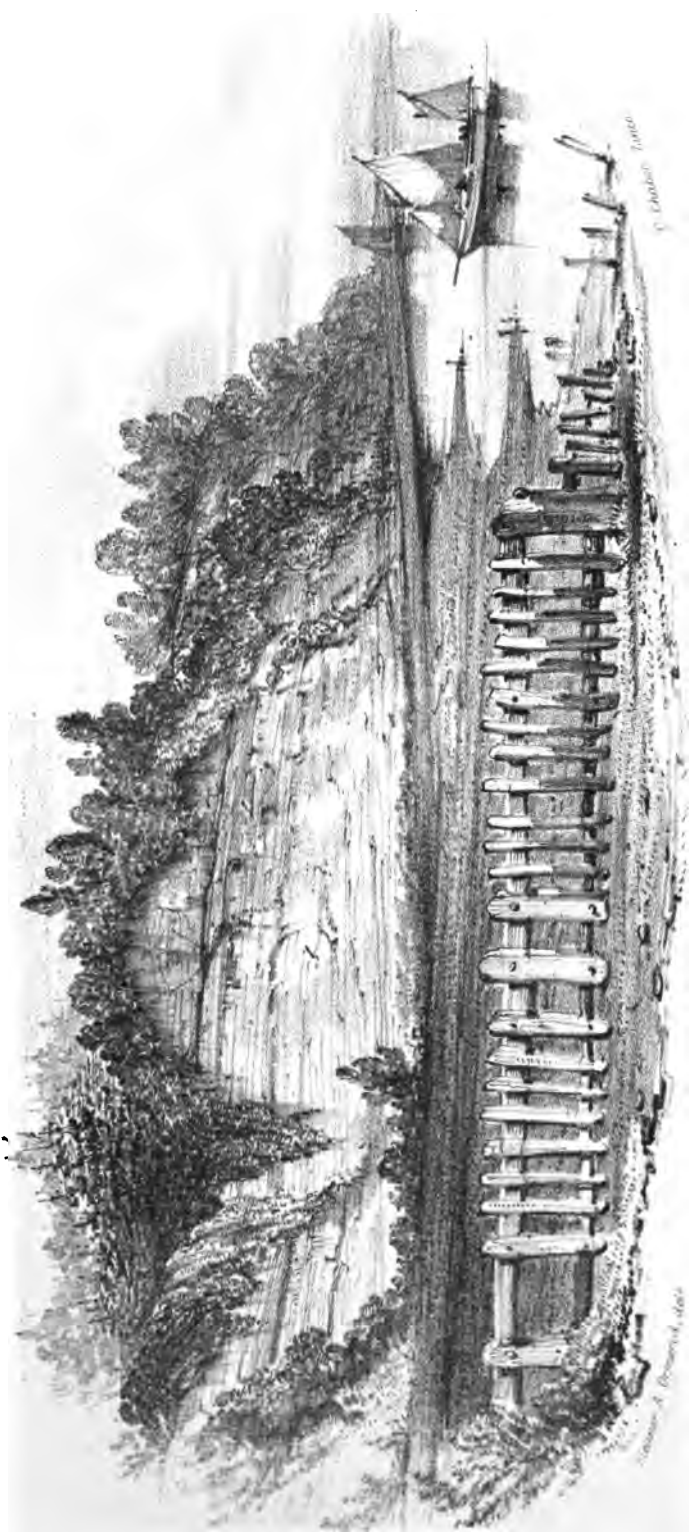
also along the precipitous Tutshill Cliffs, which extend along the Wye to the Pill at Tiler's Marsh before mentioned. The materials in this part would be limestone rock, and have been probably removed for various purposes, as was lately the case with a mass which appeared to indicate a point where the mound had ceased to be continuous on touching the line of Roman way.

At the southern end of these Cliffs, and opposite to the termination of the Norman walls of Chepstow, is a mount partly natural and partly artificial, resembling those in the earlier course of the Dyke in the north, and protecting the landing place before mentioned, beyond which is an alluvial sea-marsh, still liable to overflows, and possibly the site of an ancient haven. To the east of a small brook contiguous to this mount and pill, the Dyke recommences, as may be clearly traced, though much of the soil has been carried away, and ascends the opposite slope, tending across the peninsula towards the Severn. It next descends through Pensilvania orchard in a nearly perfect form,¹ and again rises towards the top of Buttinton Hill, on the summit of which a detached mass of it, called "Buttinton Tump," close to the turnpike road, forms the boundary of the hamlets of Sedbury and Beachley.

The Dyke next enters Sedbury Park, continuing to be a boundary of the hamlets, and for about a hundred yards of open ground bears marks, on the northern side, of the alterations in its form made by Rupert and Sir John Wintour in 1644. It then enters the site of Buttinton Wood, where the thickets of copse wood were lately removed,² and in its descent shews a broad, lofty, and apparently unaltered mound,

¹ Antient ways, British and Roman, intersect with the later line of the Dyke here (see p. 8), and its form appears to have been originally sloped down to accommodate itself to their line of passage.

² The concealment of the Dyke by these coppices was complete, and may account for Mr. Hartshorne's doubt as to its existence, in *Salopia Antiqua*, p. 186.



SEDBURY CLIFFS.
The Southern Termination of OFFA'S DYKE.

about forty feet in width at the base, and twelve or fourteen in height in the centre. At the foot of this descent it crosses a small combe and watercourse, and rising rapidly, enters the remains of Buttinton Wood close to a precipice, where (as at Buttinton in Montgomeryshire) it *again* rests on the Severn, overlooking its junction with the Wye in the flat below, being precisely the point assigned by tradition and chroniclers for its termination.

IT IS OBSERVABLE that, in the part here described from personal observation, the DYKE is *not a continuous line*, but that it *generally* occupies a military position on high ground, filling up the intervals between marshy slopes and precipices, and there can be no doubt that the *limitary line* between Gwent and Mercia at this point was the Wye itself. Tradition considers the intermediate low grounds and projections as former neutral spaces for mutual communication and traffic, and it is observable that Churchyard mentions a similar tradition with respect to the spaces between Wats Dyke and that of Offa.¹

The projecting promontories are, LLANCAUT, TUTSHILL, and BEACHLEY, anciently BETTESLEGH. LLANCAUT is joined by a narrow neck of land to Tidenham, across which works range from cliff to cliff, consisting of two parallel mounds formed of fragments of limestone, with the convex side of the curve and the ditch towards Mercia. It may be either British, defending the narrow channel near the church below (called by Corbet "the passe of Wye"), or an entrenchment of Danish pirates. Tradition calls its Offa's Dyke, and I incline to consider it a British work, coinciding with that later line, and left unaltered. Sir John Wintour "*intended to fortify and make good*" these entrenchments in 1644, but was defeated here, and driven over the river.²

On TUTSHILL, as before mentioned, the Dyke appeared

¹ Worthines of Wales, edit. 1776, p. 104.

² Corbet, p. 136, in Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis.

suddenly to terminate on reaching the descent of the Roman Road towards the Wye, and no traces of it have been found in the narrow interval between the Cliffs which constitutes the later and present approach to Chepstow.

The lines between Beachley and Sedbury, already described, were strengthened by Rupert and Wintour in 1644, and were twice stormed by General Massey. Mr. Webb correctly describes them as an antient encampment, where the celebrated Dyke of King Offa is supposed to have terminated.¹ Coxe, relying on a correspondent,² adopts *his* opinion as to the lines "erroneously supposed by some persons to be Offa's Dyke," being merely an entrenchment thrown up in the CIVIL WARS; and Sir Richard Hoare,³ (Coxe's Monmouthshire fellow traveller,) obviously leaning on Coxe's note by using its words, conjectures the Wye to have been the boundary south of Hereford, on the ground that no positive traces of the Dyke had been discovered beyond it. *Coxe's opinion*, as to the *original formation of the Dyke*⁴ in 1644, is now *decisively corrected* by mention of the existing Dyke, as a boundary, in King Edwy's Charter of 956, as hereafter mentioned.

IT IS PURPOSELY LEFT AS AN OPEN QUESTION, whether the occasional *discontinuuousness* to the south of Bridge Sollers, near Hereford, is the result of *original* non-completion, or of early destruction alleged to have been effected by an inroad of the Welshmen of Gwent and Morganwg;⁵ and it is also freely

¹ Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis, p. xcvi.

² Mr. Jennings, a Custom House officer at Chepstow, Tour, p. 366.

³ Giraldus Cambrensis, ii, p. 395.

⁴ The part altered by Wintour is at Buttinton, where the mound is sloped into a glaxis, and cannon shot are sometimes found.

⁵ Archæologia Cambrensis, 3rd series, vol. ii, p. 152. The Article quoted states, on the authority of the Brut-y-Tywysogion, that in 776 the men of Gwent and Morganwg arose and destroyed Offa's Dyke, and that in 784 Offa made a Dyke nearer to him, leaving a *territorial space* between the Wye and the Severn. The space, thus said to have been abandoned by Offa, would accord with the district where the discon-

admitted, with reference to the point here represented, that a peninsula, thus defended by a line of earthworks crossing its base from the Wye to the Severn, might have been selected subsequently for a retreat by Danish pirates, as it certainly was by royalist troops in the seventeenth century,¹ when a small portion of the mounds on Buttinton Hill was the subject of limited readaptation. BUT THIS in no way disproves the *original object* of construction, and the discussion may at once be transferred to proof of existence of this part of the line in the Saxon period, and to its coincidence with the point assigned, equally by tradition and chronicles, to the southern termination of the entire demarcation.

I. With respect to such decisive evidence of Saxon antiquity, it is proved indisputably by a Charter of KING EDWY, granted to the SECULARS OF BATH, in 956, that the Dyke, here illustrated, was then a known boundary between CYNGESTUNE and UTANHAMME. The former of these is identified with SEDBURY, and the latter, or the outer hamlet, with BEACHLEY, by the unchangeable boundaries of the Severn and Wye; and this is the intermediate position of the Dyke at the present day.²

tinuous lines of earthworks are found, namely that between Bridge Sollers, on the Wye above Hereford and the Wyemouth. A theory founded on this would agree with an opinion communicated to the author in 1841 by the late Rev. T. Price (Carnhuanwc), of Cwmdru.

More will be found as to this aggression and as to Offa's colonization of the district between Wye and Severn, in Caradoc's Welsh Chronicle, edit. 1584, pp. 19, 20, and as to the aggression, in the Life of Offa II, appended to Wats's Matthew Paris, p. 17.

¹ Corbet's Siege of Gloucester, and Webb's Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis, pp. xcvi, 136.

² See Kemble's Diplomata Anglo-Saxonum, iii, 444, 450; and Memoirs of the Bristol Congress of the Institute, p. 52. The Survey annexed to the Charter here cited is partly abstracted and partly translated in Kemble's Saxons in England (i, p. 320), and the original will be found in the Diplomata, iii, pp. 444, 450. It sets out Dyddanhamme with its still existing boundaries (Wyemouth and Twyfyrd's Pool), and names its component hamlets, Stroet, now Stroet; Middle-

II. It may be added, in confirmation of this Dyke, thus referred to the Saxon period, having been a portion of the Dyke ascribed to Offa, that its form, where unaltered, with its ditch on the Welsh side and other coincidences, accords with that of the northern and more continuous portions of his work; and that the name of Offa's Dyke has been uniformly applied to it, as well by local tradition as by successive topographers.

III. It must also be remembered that the ancient authorities for the formation of the general demarcation itself—Asser,¹ Simeon of Durham,² and the Polychronicon³—fix a southern termination, which will coincide with the Sedbury Cliffs, but with no other place. The two first bring it from "*Sea to Sea*," the last "from the south, near Bristol," and Camden founds on these statements, his deduction of it from the mouth of the Dee to the Wyemouth.⁴ Such limitation necessarily confines the southern termination to one point. It must be a point west of the Bristol Channel, or Severn Sea, as

tune, now Churchend and Wibdon; Cyngestune, now Sedbury; Utanhamme, now Beachley; and Biscopestune, now Bishton. The Saxon name Cyngestune obviously refers to the Royal possession of the hamlet by Edwy, as the later name Sedbury probably refers to the Earthworks. The identification mentioned in the text follows. "At Cyngestune there are v hides and xiii yards rented, and i hide *above the Dyke which is now* also let for rent. And the Outer Ham (Utanhamme) is partly in demesne and partly rented by Welsh Shipmen. In Cyngestune there are in *Severn* xxi "cyt" weirs and in *Wye* xii.

¹ Monumenta Historica Britannica, p. 471. "Vallum magnum inter Britanniam et Merciam *de Mari in Mare*." The word "*Mare*," as applied to the Severn at its confluence with the Wye, will be found in the Ecclesiastical Valor of 26 Hen. VIII, in the notice of the former Chapel on the island there, cited in a following page.

² Ibidem, p. 672. "Vallum magnum inter Britanniam et Merciam, id est *de Mari usque ad Mare*."

³ Gale's XV Scriptores, i, p. 194. "Ab Austro juxta Bristolliam—se extendit in Boream."

⁴ Camdeni Britannia, edit. 1607, p. 478. "A Devæ ostio usque ad Vagæ per lxxxx plus minus mille passus."

the Dyke had no continuation to the east of it. Sedbury would be the nearest convenient point to the mouth of the Wye, (the virtual boundary) upon its left, or its Mercian bank. No local point could combine these coincidences, excepting that point where the Dyke, as here delineated, rests on the Sedbury Cliffs, overhanging the broad estuary of the Severn, immediately north of its junction with the minor estuary of the Wye and commencement of the Bristol Channel.

V.

ON THE SITE OF BUTTINGDUNE ON SEVERN, THE SIEGE OF THE DANES THEREIN BY KING ALFRED, AND ITS PROBABLE COINCIDENCE WITH BUTTINTON IN TIDEN- HAM PARISH.

ALLUSION has been made in the previous Essay to the probability of the terminating portion of the Saxon Dyke having been raised on the foundation of earlier works, in the part where it stretches across the Peninsula from the Wye to the Severn, and in conjunction with those rivers forms a complete military position. To this theory of earlier works, may be added a notice of its correspondence with the description of works of later date, namely, the disputed site of the settlement of Danish pirates at Buttingdune on Severn, which received Hastings in his flight from Alfred in 894-5.

It appears from the Saxon Chronicle, that the Danes on this occasion, joined by East Anglians and Northumbrians, marched westwards from Essex, by the Thames, towards the Severn; and that Alfred's forces, with auxiliary bands from Somersetshire, the east and north of Thames, the west of Severn, and North Wales, overtook the rear of the Danes at Buttingdune on Severn-bank, and beset them without, on each side, in a fortress. The conjoined accounts of the Chronicle and Matthew of Westminster describe Buttingdune¹ as a

¹ See Ingram's Saxon Chronicle, p. 117, and Matthew of Westminster, p. 179, edit. 1601. The description of the latter is as follows, and is more particular than the account in the Chronicle.

895. "Eodem tempore Hasteinus iniquus et ceteri pagani quos exercitus Regis Ælfredi de Beamfleote fugaverat, disposuerunt transire ad concives suos, qui in occiduis partibus Angliæ habitabant. Arrepto igitur clam itinere per provinciam Merciorum, *ad villam quandam super*

previous settlement of Danish pirates, of course accessible by sea, but, during the famine which ensued, cut off from all relief by the position of the fleet of Alfred, off the Devonshire coast. Matthew of Westminster adds, that the place was so surrounded by the waters of the Severn, that King Alfred girt in the Pagans, by his fleet as well as his army. Finally, the Danes, worn out by famine, attempted to cut through the Saxon force on the east bank of the river, (the means of which their vessels would easily supply,) and partially succeeded, after great slaughter, a small part (according to the Chronicle) escaping to Essex; but, according to Matthew of Westminster to Wirral, in Cheshire.

It is not intended to offer any argument beyond what will be supplied by comparison of these descriptions with the two several localities. BODDINGTON, on the Chelt, near Cheltenham, which some have conjectured to be the site, will, certainly, not stand such test, and many difficulties, such as the co-operation of the Saxon fleet, and the cutting off relief by the position of Alfred off Devonshire, are irreconcilable with the inland situation of BUTTINTON, in Montgomeryshire, at the intersection of the mounds of Offa's Dyke there with a more northern part of the Severn. BUTTINTON IN TIDENHAM previously escaped general notice from bearing a name limited to adjacent fields and coppices, of which the latter, until of late, concealed the most complete part of the entrenchments.

flumen Sabrinae sitam, BUTTINGDUNE appellatam pervenerunt, ubi a confratribus suis reverenter sunt recepti, atq. in oppidum quod ibidem construxerant introducti. Cumque hoc Regi Ælfredo nuntiatum fuisset, congregavit exercitum quasi invincibilem, et veniens ad oppidum prefatum, quod Sabrinae fluctibus erat undique perfusum, paganos tam navali quam terrestri exercitu circumcinxit. At hostes post diutinam obsidionem, victu sibi deficiente, equos suos novissime devorabant. Tandem, omnibus consumptis, ab oppido necessitate compulsi exierunt, contra exercitum qui erat in orientali parte fluminis pugnaturi, ubi ex parte Regis in prima congressione cecidit Ordeinus minister ejusdem regis et multi alii cum eo, sed Christiani demum prevalentes in fugam adversarios compulerunt. Quos fideles sine pietate insequentes, multos in undis submergebant, et nonnullos gladiis detruncabant."

VI.

DESCENT OF THE ANGLO-NORMAN LORDS OF STRIGUL.

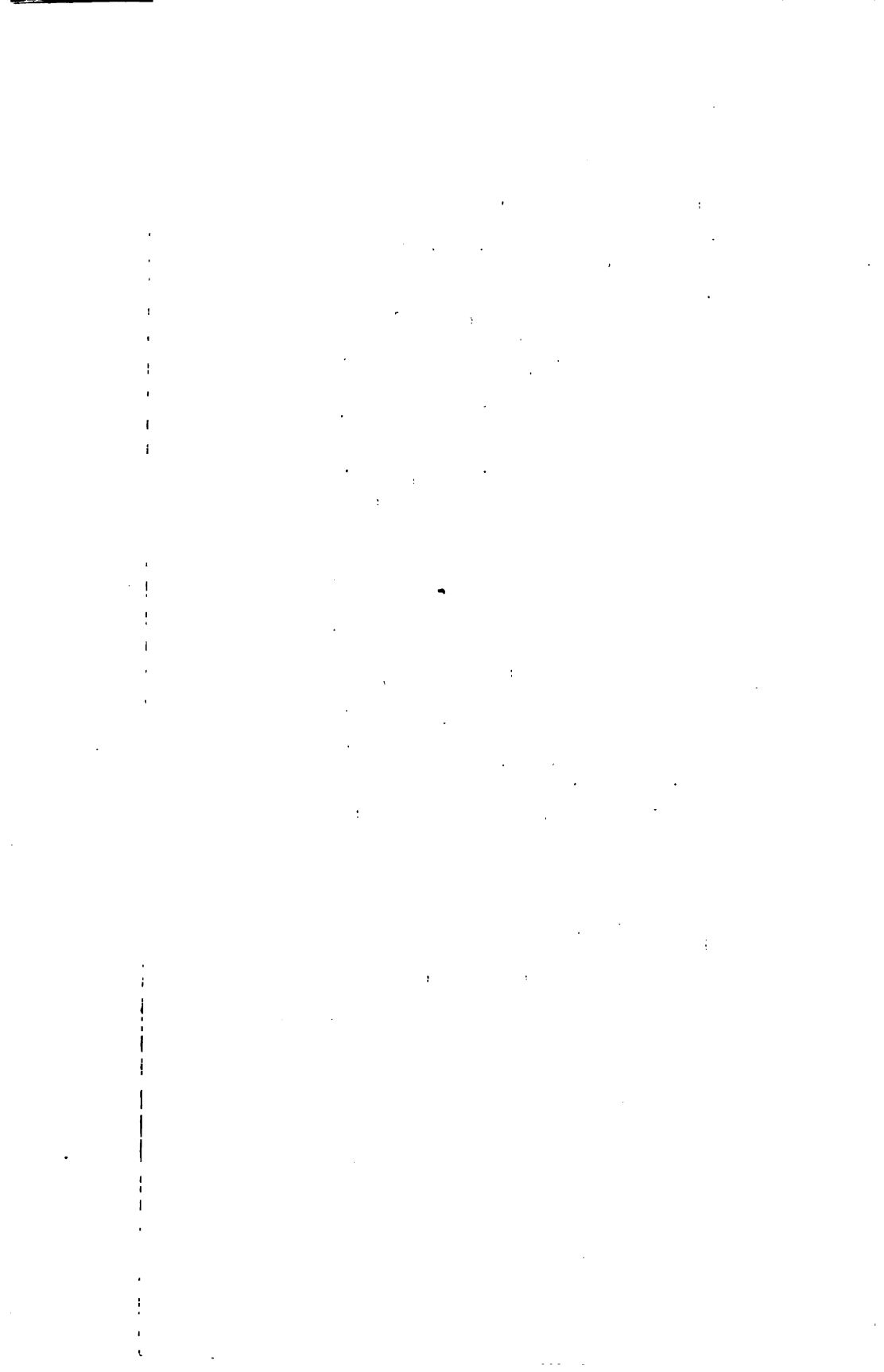
AN OUTLINE of this descent appears to be requisite for the clear understanding of the Essays following ; and it is, accordingly here given, using as its principal basis the table drawn by Duchesne, and inserted in his "*Historiæ Normannorum Scriptores*" (p. 1085), where it is accompanied with precise references to the Historians on whose statements it rests.

The errors of the Tintern Chronicle and of Dugdale's *Baronage* on this subject are extreme. The Chronicle¹ describes the *first* Richard Fitz-Gilbert as son of an apocryphal William Fitz-Osbert, probably confounding such personage with a real person, William Fitz-Osborne, the Norman grantee of Strigul, and necessarily precursor of the Clares in that Lordship, but of different lineage, as shewn in the pedigree annexed.

Dugdale, among many less important errors, citing Ordericus for the captivity of the *first* Richard Fitz-Gilbert in 1091, overlooks his decease in that year ; and the fact of that historian expressly saying, in a later part of his account of the events of 1091, when speaking of this Earl and his brother Baldwin, that they were recently deceased : "*qui nuper obierant*" (p. 694).² In another part, when quoting the Tintern Chronicle with respect to its founder, Walter de Clare, in op-

¹ Mon. Ang., v, p. 269.

² The first statement is, "*Roberti dirum carcerem experti sunt*" (Ordericus, p. 692). The rest is given in the awful narrative of the procession of demons and their victims, said to have been seen by a priest of the diocese of Lisieux ; but the date of the recent decease of these personages, which is the important point, is stated as a known matter of fact.





position to the authority cited, he makes that Walter son instead of brother of the first Gilbert Fitz-Richard.¹

The errors in Dugdale's Clare pedigree have been discussed in Mr. Hornby's "Specimen of the Mistakes in Dugdale's Baronage",² and it would be endless to enter on a detailed view of the ramification of error ; but they will appear on collation of the points cited. It may be added that Duchesne's pedigree, here followed, has been collated with charters by the author of this volume, and found correct. It agrees with the Clare pedigree given by Vincent in his "Discoverie of Errours" (p669), and with that of Stapleton in the "Rotuli Normanniæ", ii, cxxxix.

Much also will be found in Mr. Planché's Memoir on these Earls (Journal of the Archæological Association, 1854, pp. 265-274), particularly on points tending to refutation of the story of the son of the second Strongbow, brother of the heiress Isabella, being slain in the field by his father, after a defeat by the Irish. The story is given by Vincent, in his work cited above, on the authority of Stanihurst, and more will be found in Fenton's Pembrokeshire, p. 378, where Spelman and Giraldus Cambrensis, and other authorities, are also cited in support of the story.

It appears, however, from expressions in the confirmatory Charter of Tintern, that the Countess Isabella really had a brother, who died issueless. The words of the confirmation are, "pro animabus, bonæ memoriæ Walteri filii Ricardi filii Gilberti Strongbow avi mei, et Willielmi Marescalli patris mei, et Ysabellæ matris meæ." (Mon. Ang., vol. v, p. 267.) The Walter de Clare thus identified as son of Richard Fitz-Gilbert Strongbow, could not be other than a brother of Isabella, as will be seen by referring to the pedigree. But here the precise evidence ends, so far as he is concerned ; and everything relating to the time or manner of his death without issue, by which Isabella became heiress of the Pembroke branch of Clare, remains to be proved.

¹ Baronage, vol. i, p. 207, col. 2. ² Moule's Bibliotheca Heraldica, p. 339.

VII.

ON THE IDENTITY OF THE NORMAN ESTRIGHOIEL OF THE DOMESDAY SURVEY WITH THE LATER AND PRESENT CHEPSTOW.¹

IN THE PRECEDING ESSAYS the identity of the medieval "Strigul" with the present Chepstow, has been assumed uniformly, but as CAMDEN has deliberately assigned the locality of the original Strigul to the petty Castellet of STROGGY or Ys-TROGGY, near Usk, it seems proper to enter into the points which disprove his statements, and shew that nothing but the castle on the Wye could accord with the "Strigul" of Chronicles and Records. The identification also of the Norman fortress on the Wye, goes far towards supporting the earlier consequence of the position itself, and of the camp, British probably, and afterwards Roman, "the Bulwarks" on the Hardwick Cliffs adjacent to Chepstow, to which the Celtic tribes committed the protection of the district and of the passages of Wye and Severn, and to which the Norman Fortress succeeded.

It may be right nevertheless to admit, in thus maintaining the superior consequence of the Norman castle (Strigul, otherwise Chepstow), that the same name, or a mere variation of it, may have been borne, even in the British period, by Camden's castellet on Pencaemawr, called Troggy at present, and Tor-rogy in records. "Both names are of kindred origin, and derived from a class of words referring generally to *motion*, "and when uniformly marked, or otherwise, with the prefix

¹ From a Memoir by the author of this volume, printed in *Archæologia*, vol. xxix, pp. 25-31, with additions.



Chapel Rock at the Mouth of the Wye.
CAPELLA SANCTI TERIACI ANACHORITE.



“‘ys’, easily corrupted into each other.”¹ In this derivation, the Author rests on the opinion of a native antiquary, the late Mr. Davies of Manavon.

¹ The confusion of opinions as to the source of this name has been great. Sir R. Atkins, misled by the juxtaposition of Gloucester and Estrighoiel in the Domesday Survey (Hist. of Glouc., p. 45), unaccountably translates “Castellum Estrighoiel” as “the Castle of Eastbridge Hotel in Gloucester.” Gale fancies that he sees *Strata Julia* in it; and Humphrey Lhwyd considers it “somewhat neare to Siluria.” (Twyne’s Translation, fol. 81 b.) Williams, in his Monmouthshire (p. 140), not being aware of the error of the Tintern Chronicler (Mon. Ang., v, 269), who confounds the two principal Norman grantees in Tidenham and the two successive lines of the Norman Counts of Eu, thinks that the names of both castles are derived from “Castrum Ogie”, as having *both* been held by “Clare, Lord of Ogie.” It is true that the Clares were male descendants of the *eldest line* of the Counts of Eu, and that after the two forfeitures already mentioned (as explained in a previous note) they obtained both the portion of Tidenham which had belonged to their kinsman William Count of Eu (representative of the second line), and that of Roger Earl of Hereford, whose rebellion was put down by Richard Fitz-Gilbert, surnamed de Tonebrugge, and the great ancestor of this Norman house; but Clare of Strigul and Pembroke *never* possessed the title of Count of “Ogie” or Eu, nor were the two Monmouthshire castles, mentioned above, ever possessed by any one holding such title.

Apparent whimsical corruptions of this British name, “Traigyl” or “Treigl”, which is discussed at length in the following Essay, may be found in the Wye nearer its confluence with the Severn, in the field at that point, and in the name of the rocky island and ANCHORITE’S CHAPEL at the junction of the rivers. William of Worcester sometimes terms this the “Rok Seynt Tryacle”, and sometimes (as in p. 147) latinizes it into the “Capella Sancti Teriaci Anachoritæ.” In Saxton’s map it appears as “St. Treacle Chapel.” The ruins are often called St. Tecla’s (euphoniæ gratiâ), but the natives and mariners uniformly use the corruption given by Saxton.

Passing from the name and its possible derivations to the Chapel Rock itself and its former inmate, it may be briefly remarked that the Ruins of this ancient Hermitage and Chapel still exist on the rock in the Wye-mouth, which is alternately isle and mainland with the changes of the tide, and they are faithfully represented in the delineation annexed. It would be vain to attempt identification of the Hermit whose name is associated with the ruins, and who does not appear in the calendar of Saints, but he occurs as follows in the Valor Ecclesiasticus of Hen. VIII, vol. ii, p. 501: “CAPELLA SANCTI TRIACI, valet nihil, quâ stat in mare et nulla proficua inde proveniunt.”

To return to the direct statement of Camden (Britannia, edit. 1607, p. 487.) "Vaga—cum jam ad Ostium fere devenit Chepstow preterfluit, id est, si Saxonice interpreteris, forum vel negotiationis locus, Britannis Castle Went. Oppidum hoc est celebre, etc., etc. Hujus domini fuerunt e Clarensum familiâ Penbrochiæ Comites, *qui a Strighull, Castro Vicino (quod incoluerunt) Strigulicæ et Penbrochiæ Comites dicti.* In the next page he proceeds, "Ad quintum hinc milliare *Strigulia Castrum* ad montium radices sedet; *nos hodie Strugle, Normanni Estrigil vocarunt, quod (ut est in Gulielmi primi libro censuali) Gulielmus Fitzosbern Herefordiæ Comes construxit, posteaq; Comitum Penbrochiæ, e Clarensum familiâ, sedes.*

This remark of Camden, that the Castle of Strogile at the feet of the mountains was the Domesday Estrigil, built by Fitz Osberne, and the seat of the Clares, Earls of Pembroke, is apparently founded on an unguarded misconception of the following more cautious passage in Leland, who elsewhere terms Walter de Clare, "D'm de Strogil alias Chepstow," and in his commentary on Cygnea Cantio, writes, "Strigulia alias Chepstow."

"The principal town of Low Venteland is Chepstow. Sum say that the old name of this town is Strigulia. Sum think that Strigulia should be sum other place, because that the Lord Herebert writeth himself Lord of *Chepstow and Strigul*, as of ij diverse places. There appere a v or vj englich myles from Chepstow yn a great woodside under a hill, very notable ruines of a Castel cawllid Trogy, wherby runneth a lytle broke of the same name. The name of this Castel sumwhat cummeth to the name of Strigulia, but it standeth, as they say ther, in Middle Venteland."¹

Lord Herbert's distinction was obvious. Like Scott's Marmion, he was Lord of "tower and town," and wished to be styled of both; the *town* generally, though not invari-

¹ Itinerary, vol. vi, fol. 23, and ix, 101.

ably,¹ bearing the name of *Cheapstow*, or the place of traffic, whilst the Castle and Honour were named *Strigul*. Thus in 12 Edw. III.² the King grants to his brother Thomas "the *Castle and manor of Strogoil and Vill of Chepstow*," and in 1 Edw. II. John de Crumwell has custody "*Castri nostri de Strugeill cum chaceis et parcis, etc., necnon et ville nostre de Chepstowe*."³

The mention of "*flumen Vaga apud Castrum Strigulense*" in the *Polychronicon*,⁴ might perhaps be sufficient to identify the veritable *Strigul* of the feudal day, but the following series of points connected *with Strigul* in records compared with remains traceable *in Chepstow* at the present day, will, at once, settle their identity, and prove which of the castles was the chief seat of this great marchership.

I. CASTLE OF STRIGUL. Domesday⁵ only mentions three castles (or castellates, implying castles) within the present area of Monmouthshire—Monemude, Carlion, and Estrighoiel, the last being expressly stated to have been built by (the Earl of Hereford) Comes Willielmus.

The existing castle of Chepstow has a massive oblong keep according with such æra, with flat buttresses and round-headed arches, layers of Roman bricks in the walls, and herringbone masonry in the foundations.

II. PORT. The same castle "*reddebat xl. solidos tantum de navibus in silvam euntibus*." All passage up the Wye to

¹ As a proof of the names being occasionally used indifferently may be cited, on one side, from Rot. Parl., vi, p. 207, 22 Edw. IV, the saving to William Erle of Huntynndon, of the "*Castelles, Lordships and Manors of Chepstow and Gower*"; and *ibid.* pp. 292-3, the petition of the coheirs of Charles respecting proceedings connected with the transfer from the Duke of Norfolk to William Lord Herbert of the *Lordships, Manors*, etc., called Gower Lands and *Shepatow*: and, on the other hand, in Twyne's Breviary, 1573 (translated from Humphrey Lhwyd's *Commentarioli Descriptionis Britannicæ*), "*Chepstow*, a fine market town in Wenta, before a few years passed, was called *Strigulia*."

² Rot. Pat., 42 b.

³ Rot. Orig., i, 154.

⁴ XV Script., p. 194.

⁵ Domesday, i, 162.

the Forest would be still commanded by Chepstow castle if occupied for military purposes, and the vessels in Chepstow port pay dues to its proprietor at the present day.¹

III. BURGH. Domesday next notices the "Villa ipsa," that is, the ancient Burgh, the Vill adjacent to the Castle. The Tintern Charter, 1 Hen. III. confirms to the monks their possessions "infra Burgum Strugull,"² and among the writs dated from Aberconwey (11 Edw. I.) directing provisions to Montgomery, one is addressed to the "Ballivi de Strogoule."³ cccviiij Burgages, paying customary rent, are noticed in that part of an inquisition taken after the death of the Lord Marcher Roger Earl of Norfolk, 35 Edw. I, which relates to the castle and borough of Strogoul.

Eleven years before the dissolution of the Marches, "the bailiffs and burgesses of his town of Chepstow" had a regular charter of incorporation from their Lord Marcher, Charles Somerset, Earl of Worcester, dated Dec. 2, 1524;⁴ but so late as 1614, the same place is described in the Court Rolls of the Manor of Waldings, as "Strugulle als Chepstowe," in accordance with the statement of Humphrey Lhwyd before mentioned.

This Charter, identifying the Burghs of Strigul and Chep-

¹ After Domesday, may be cited the following extract from the "Cambrise Descriptio" of Giraldus Cambrensis, which shews that the "Castrum Strigulense" was, in his time, the Castle on the Wye. His time was from about 1146 to 1220; and Stroggy Castle is proved by the Inq. p. m. 35 E. I. (1306) to have been at the last date, "de novo constructus."

The passage in Giraldus says, "Vaga fluvius per Castellum de Wiltonia et Castellum Godrici discurrens, Silvam quoque Danubise ferro fertilem atque ferinam transpenetrando, usque *Strigulense Castrum*, sub quo et in mare dilabatur, et Angliam ibidem a Wallia separans, modernis diebus, Marchiam facit." Cambr. Descriptio, cap. v, Lond., 1804, p. 184.

² Mon. Ang., vol. v, p. 268.

³ MS. "Treatise of Lordships Marchers", p. 138, abstracted in Appendix to Pennant's Wales, vol. ii, 4to. edit., p. 443.

⁴ An ancient translation of this charter was preserved among the Duke of Beaufort's documents at Chepstow: the original is supposed to be lost.

stow, is obsolete, but the Burgh itself still possesses its ancient streets and houses, with arched vaults, and other undeniable vestiges of antiquity, including its embattled and turreted Port walls.

IV. PRIORY. In 1168 the fourth part of the "*Decima de Striguliis*" was confirmed to the Abbey of Corneilles in Normandy by Pope Alexander III.¹ The dependant Cell at Strigul is proved to have existed in the time of Henry II. by a charter of Baderon de Monmuthe, mentioning his marriage in presence of several of the Clare family "*apud Striguliam*," the charter itself being witnessed by Odo, "*Strigulensis Prior*," Comitissa Ysabel, etc.² The Ecclesiastical Taxation of 1291 notices a pension payable to the same priory of "*Sturgoil*" from Tidenham.

The large area of the Priory site still remains at Chepstow. The ornamented gravestones of the ecclesiastics occurred in numbers in the recent alterations of the conventual church; and in the valuation of the dissolved Priory of Chepstow, temp. Hen. VIII, a pension from Tidenham is noticed,

V. CHURCH. "*Ecclesia de Storguyl, cum Capell.*" (*Taxatio Eccl. P. Nicholai*, 1291.) This Church was probably built after the Domesday Survey, as no church at this point is mentioned in it, although it may perhaps be implied that endowments of a former one are alluded to in mention of a priest, and religious appropriation of revenues in the vicinity.

The remains of Chepstow church, coincide in all respects with what is known of this antient "*Ecclesia de Storguyl*," and are noticed separately in a later Essay.

VI. BRIDGE. The locality of an early Bridge over the estuary of the Wye at Strigul is thus noticed in the Hundred Rolls (i, 181) in 1273; "*Comes Mariscallus habuit libertatem suam, de Cone usque ad pontem de Strugull, nesciunt quo warranto.*" The chantry of St. David's chapel, "*juxta*

¹ *Neustra Pia*, p. 600.

² *Mon. Ang.*, iv, 597.

pontem de Strugull," occurs also in the inquisition after the death of Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, 35 Edw. I.

Such bridge is described as existing at Chepstow in the time of William of Worcester (1476), and in 27 Hen. VIII. cap. 26. It, or its successor, is mentioned as ruinous in Leland's Itinerary and in the Chepstow Bridge Act of 18 Eliz. and as "clean carried away," in the Act of 3 Jac. I. The curious wooden bridge represented in Atkyns's work made way for the present iron one in 1816. These later bridges occupied nearly the same site, and the existing one forms the same boundary as that formed by "Strugull Bridge" in 1273, viz. that of Tidenham, as one of the manors and parishes described in the words of the Act of 27 Hen. VIII as lying "between Chepstow Bridge in the Marches of Wales and Gloucestershire," these manors constituting the district re-annexed to Gloucestershire by that Act, and being precisely co-extensive with the Earl Marshall's Liberty noticed in the Hundred Rolls.

The Chapel-house farm at the Gloucestershire end of Chepstow Bridge also commemorates the former chapel of St. David at the end of "the pons de Strugull," of which the cemetery can still be traced.

VII. THE HONOR, MANOR, AND TITULAR EARLDOM OF STRIGUL. THE HONOR OF STRIGUL which, in 13 Johan., paid for LXV Knight's fees and a half, comprised an out-lying range of many distant manors, as, for instance, Sturminster Marshall in Dorsetshire, and Hampsted Marshall, in Berks. See Inquisitions in the printed calendar, Vol. 2, p. 143 (22 E. 3 No. 27) and p. 186 (28 E. 3 No. 21) Vol. 3, p. 83 (10 R. 2 No. 18) and Vol. 4, p. 22 (No. 28, 4 H. 5) See also Dugdale's Baronage, i, p. 600.

THE MANOR OF STRIGUL, a small portion of the greater domain, consisted, according to the decisive authority of the Inq. p. m. 35 Edw. I, of adjacent demesne, and the services of 7½ Knights' Fees, all lying contiguous to Chepstow, and, at

the present day, more or less connected with it. It was from this extensive Honor that the Clares and Marshalls, actually Earls of Pembroke, assumed a Title, Earl of Strigul, which the Report on Dignities (published by Command of the House of Peers)¹ considers to be assumptive and imaginary only, although it is recognised in many solemn instruments from about 1180 to 1380, *including a public act of investiture with the sword of this precise dignity*, at the coronation of Richard I.

The style used was "'COMES DE STRIGUIL,"² 'Comes Ricardus de Strigiell,'³ 'Gladius Comitatus de Striguil,'⁴ and "Counte de Strogoil." The last occurs in an admitted Coronation claim at the Coronation of Richard II. See Vincent's "Discoverie," p. 345.

IF WE COLLATE the before mentioned points with "TROGGY," we find *there* only the doubtful earthworks of a British Gaer (or mountain fortress), a ruined castellet of inferior scale and comparatively modern architecture,⁵ and Leland's "lytle broke of the same name:" but as to Norman castle, navigable river, port, vill, priory, church, bridge, and boundary of known extensive manors, all necessary to identify Estrig-

¹ Report, p. 160.

² Ralph de Diceto, p. 190.

³ Chronicon Johannis Brompton, XV Scriptores, p. 1155.

⁴ Selden's Titles of Honour, p. 677.

⁵ The windows are of various ages, but none of the regular Norman form represented in some late engravings. In the writ to John de Monemue to take possession of the castles of Gilbert Marescall', late Earl of Pembroke (Pat. Fin. 25 Hen. III) Strigoyll, Usk, and Karelioun are only noticed, and there is no existing part of Troggy that appears older than this period. The partition of these Lordships is supposed to have followed the death of Earl Anselm, in 29 Hen. III, and the erection of a castellet at this point would *then* become desirable to protect the new frontier, which, soon afterwards, was the scene of feudal warfare between the Earls Marshall, Lords of Strigul, and the Clares of Gloucester, Lords of Usk. In the Inquisition of 35 Edw. I, taken after the death of Roger Bigod Earl of Norfolk, it is expressly described thus: "Est apud Tonaor quidam *Turris de novo constructus*, qui nihil valet per annum ultra sustentationem ejus."

hoiel, and all indisputably clear at CHEPSTOW, not one is, or ever was, to be found at Troggy.

Bishop Tanner has remarked, that where Chepstow occurs in ancient records Strigul is absent ; and Coxe, and the Editors of the Monasticon, justly assent to his deduction of their identity from this circumstance. The inquisition 35 Edw. I., already cited, proves the same by contrary process, by naming both castles in the same document, and shewing that Strogoil and Torrogy were distinct. In the early part of the inquisition "Strogoil castrum cum Bertona" stands at the head of its vast dependencies. At the end of them is "Torrogy Turris," followed by a tenement of 167 acres (of which the greater part was waste), described as "Plattelonde dicto turri pertinens," the Tower itself (as mentioned in the preceding page) being described as valueless and of recent construction.

The last evidence is that of the "Court Baron and Court of Survey of the Honour of Chepstow, alias Striguil" in 1824, which returns "Cas-Troggy, or Striguil Castle," as one of the extreme boundaries of perambulation ; but in answer to the question, "What is the chief seat or capital mansion of this manor?" formally returns from the old surveys, "that the same is Striguil, alias Chepstow Castle."

VIII.

ON THE PROBABLE DERIVATION AND IMPORT OF ESTRIGHOIEL, THE NAME GIVEN TO CHEPSTOW IN THE DOMESDAY SURVEY.

IN an early part of the preceding pages¹ it has been suggested, in concurrence with the assent of a late accomplished classical and Cambrian scholar, that the name of Estrighoiel, assigned to Strigul or Chepstow in Domesday, may regard derivation from Ys-TRAIGYL, a word synonymous with the acknowledged import of WYE or VAGA; and in a later page³ it has been mentioned, on the authority of another well known Welch scholar, that both Strigul, the name of the Norman castle on the Wye, and Troggy or Ys-Troggy, the name of the later Castellet on Pencaemawr, derive their names from a class of words referable to motion, and easily corruptible into each other. The confusion of opinions on this subject has also been stated in the note to a subsequent page.³ Mr. W. Bruce Knight, Chancellor of Llandaff, was the "Cambrian scholar," who assented to referring the import of STRIGUL (as Ys-TRAIGYL) to the *windings* of a river, but the composition of *Ys-traigyl*, from which *Straigyl* comes, when stripped of its prefix *Ys*, was previously approved in 1834, by the Rev. Walter Davies, of Manavon, near Welchpool, the *native antiquary*, who is alluded to in p. 65, and he pointed out its allusion to "*motion*," generally.

With reference, however, to the name of *Stroggy* (*Ys-troggy*), and these remarks of Mr. Davies, on "the kindred origin" of the two several words "*Stroggy*" and "*Strigul*,"

¹ P. 2.

² P. 64.

³ P. 65.

it must be added that he was *not* aware of the real points relating to *Stroggy*, but had been misled by Camden's confounding its locality with that of *Strigul* (see p. 64). He had no knowledge of the inquisition, (35 Edw. 1) which proves the identity of the "Tower of *Torroggy*," with this castellet of "*Stroggy*," or of the passages in the *Llyfr Teilo* or *Liber Landavensis*, which identify the adjacent stream, not as "*Strigil*," (according to the errors of Williams's History of Monmouthshire, p. 140) but as "*TAROC*" and "*TAROCL*." See memoir on *Venta Silurum*, p. 12, note, and p. 10, note. The following confirmations from the CAMBRIAN DICTIONARY of OWEN will make the subject clearer to the English reader. With reference to STRIGVL (the ancient name of Chepstow) further researches have confirmed its deduction from YS-TREIGYL, as stated in p. 2.

As an additional early illustration of the word *Estrighoiel*, undoubtedly applied to Chepstow in Domesday, it may be added that the word YS-TREIGYL itself occurs, with seeming reference to this locality, in an elegy on the death of Owen Gwynedd, by the bard Cynzelw, quoted in Owen's Welsh Grammar, p. 139. Cynzelw flourished about 1160, and speaking of his hero's sovereignty, mentions its extension from Penmon to various places, and among others to "*Ys-treigyl Eingyl*,"—viz: *Ys-treigyl* of the Angles.

With respect to the composition and import of this word, nothing could be stated stronger, than that Owen's Dictionary gives the *word itself*, with the *import required*, as follows:

"Ys-Traigyl, s. m. pl. ystreiglion, (Traigyl), a *turn*,"—and elsewhere he gives its *root*, viz: Traigyl, and notes a corresponding import in "*Treiglaw*," to revolve, to circulate, to *wander about*, and "*Treiglad*," a *wanderer*.

This import unquestionably corresponds with that of VAGA, the well known name of the Wye, in medieval latinity, and also with the *import* assigned by Owen to "*Gwy*," (the Welsh original of Wye, in his letter to Coxe, (Tour, p. 340),

namely "a flowing or streaming, a *circulating*, or going about."

It has been suggested by an intelligent Welchman, since this essay was printed, that *Traigyl* in its sense of circulating may *also* mean, "resort to a crowded mart," like Chepstow, or in *another* sense allude to the *rolling* waters, the "*sequaces undæ*" of the race or rapid tide at the confluence near Treacle Island, but such derivation looks to the *same* word, with a less appropriate import.

It is unnecessary to go further except to notice a few other British and Saxon names of English rivers similarly referring to their meanders—as for instance, the Wandle and the Windrush, and "*Wyndlesora*" in the Confessor's Charter, pointing, according to Camden and Bosworth, to the "*flexuosa ripa*" of the Thames near Windsor, to which may be added the Cheshire "*Croco*" (curved), and the "*Cam*."

THESE OBSERVATIONS elucidate the derivation of the word Strigul and its variations, as is proposed in p. 2; but as the etymology was discussed with reference to these observations, in the Congress of the Archæological Association, held at Chepstow in 1854, some further remarks may be desirable.

At this Congress the derivation of the name from "*Strata Julia*," which was originally suggested by ROGER GALE (as mentioned in p. 65) was renewed by an intelligent Monmouthshire Antiquary, who observed that antiquaries "are generally agreed that the Roman Road, called '*Strata Julia*,' crossed the Wye at or near Chepstow," and added that *STRATA JULIA* is correctly expressed in Welsh by *Ystrad Ywl*, "pronounced Ustrad eeool, and that the *Castellum de Estrig-hoel* of Domesday, the Strigoel, Stogoel and Strugul of later records, are several and successive corruptions of the Welsh "*Castel Ystrad Iwl*, meaning simply the Castle on the "*Strata Julia*."

"That this is the correct interpretation, and that it was "so understood in the twelfth century, is confirmed in the

"words of an antient annotator upon the Saxon¹ Poet Necham, "quoted by Leland, '*Strata Julia cujus pontem construxit Julius, quod vulgo Strigolium dicetur.*'" (Journal of Proceedings, 1854, p. 250.)

In order to avoid the appearance of controversy, it is deemed best, to quote, first, the passage referred to from Leland's *Cygneæ Cantio* (Itinerary, vol. ix, p. 101), and then to add the remarks of Gale, the original proposer of this derivation, confining observations to the remarks of that antiquary.

I. The passage in Leland is as follows.

"Quoniam in Striguliæ mentionem incidi, lubet Nechamii "de hac urbe distichon non invenustum, ex ejus de sapientiâ "divinâ libro desumptum promere,

"Intrat et auget aquas Sabrini fluminis Osca

"Præceps, testis erit Julia Strata mihi."

"Annotaverat hæc quidam in margine codicis '*Strata Julia,*' "cujus pontem construxit Julius, quod vulgo Strigolium "dicitur. Sic ille, *mihi tamen vix placet annotatio.*"

This condemnation of the anonymous annotator by Leland himself is observable.

II. ROGER GALE's observation is as follows. (Itinerary, vi, p. 139.) "The *Strata Julia*, mentioned by A. Necham in the following verses, may have been part of it"—(viz. of the line from Oldbury to Caerwent). Here the distich is quoted as above, and Gale then proceeds: "I am apt to think this "*Strata Julia* came near *Strigull Castle*, the word *Strigull* "or *Strigoil*, as it is also wrote, seeming to be formed from "*Strata Julia*, the course of it also corresponding both to "Oldbury and Caerleon. It might take its own appellation "either from *Julius Frontinus*," as Mr. Camden conjectures,"

¹ Not Saxon, see later part of note.

² Gale quotes Camden too loosely. He, Camden (edit. 1607, p. 492), quotes Necham's distich, and inaccurately places this *Julia Strata* at *Newport*, as "*aliqua via militaris*", but is very guarded in what he says as to "*Julius Frontinus*". "*Si rem ad conjecturam revocare licet, a Julio "Frontino debellatore ductam fuisse non omnino absurdum videatur.*"

“who conquered the Silures, or *Julius Agricola* that succeeded him.”

THESE NOTES and extracts are all that the writer can collect as a basis for either of the two derivations discussed, and drawn severally from *Ystreigyl* and *Strata Julia*, and the whole may be thus summed up.

1st. This *Strata Julia* must be distinguished from the *Via Julia* of the Itinerary ascribed to Richard of Cirencester, although their course below Crick in Monmouthshire would be coincident. The *Julia Strata* would be the name applied to Gales's probable vicinal line, brought across the Severn from Oldbury to the north-east of Chepstow, and it is important to observe that Necham, who *first* uses the expression, was not, as stated in the Journal cited, a Saxon poet, but an Abbot of Cirencester of the thirteenth Century, viz:—from 1213 to 1217.¹

2ndly. If the newly formed word *Strad-Iwl* is to be considered the root of the Domesday name *Estrighoiel*, it should be proved that the word supposed to be such root was really the designation of a known way, passing near Chepstow or Strigul, and admitted to have been such designation *before* the compilation of Domesday in the eleventh century, but no authority for it is produced earlier than that of a monkish poet of the thirteenth century, in a passage relating to the Usk, and not to the Wye, with a note by an unknown commentator as to “*Strigolium*,” which Leland, who quotes it, condemns.²

3rdly. On the other hand, the word “*Ystreigyl*,” agreeably to the best Cambrian etymologists, is a word of undoubted kindred import to *Vaga* or *Gwy*. It is applied as a previously known name to “*Ystreigyl Eingyl*,” considered to be Chepstow, by a British bard in the twelfth century, and as being an admitted genuine British word may also be considered on general principles to have been older than the Norman Survey in which the word, here discussed, appears.

¹ *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vii, p. 176.

² See p. 76.

IX.

REMARKS ON THE PROBABLE DATE OF THE ERECTION OF THE CONVENTUAL CHURCH OF STRIGUL OR CHEP- STOW AND ITS REMAINS, AS THEY APPEARED BEFORE THE LATE ALTERATIONS.

THE earliest notice of the PAROCHIAL and formerly CONVENTUAL CHURCH of Chepstow, that has occurred, is in the Bull of Pope Alexander III, 1168.¹ From this it is clear, that it had been given "cum omnibus pertinentiis" by some unnamed donor to the Abbey of Cormeilles in Normandy, founded in 1060, by Earl William Fitz Osbern,² who built the Castle of Strigul in later days, and whose son, Roger de Bretteville, incurred forfeiture in 1073, before the completion of the Domesday Survey, which is silent as to the existence of either Priory or Church at Strigul, now Chepstow.

A *later* document, the Confirmation Charter of King Henry II, to this Abbey of Cormeilles, gives an *earlier* date for the existence of the Church of Strigul. It confirms to its Monks, Churches, lands, etc., as held by them in the time of his grandfather, namely Henry I, who died in 1100, and it names, among these, tithes in the demesne of Earl Richard Fitz Gilbert, between Usk and Wye, a fourth part of the tithes of Strigul, and *the Church of Strigul with its Chapels*, tithes, rents, and appurtenances.

Still a question is left, whether the Church was founded by William Fitz Osbern the Norman Baron of Strigul, by his son Roger de Bretteville who forfeited by rebellion in 1073 ; or by

¹ Neustria Pia, p. 600.

² Mon. Ang., vol. vi, p. 1075.

³ Mon. Ang., vii, 1077.

his successor Earl Richard Fitz Gilbert, ancestor of the Clares, who was mainly instrumental in putting down that rebellion, who was subsequently Lord of Strigul, and on whose lands the tithes given to Cormeilles, as above-mentioned, were charged.

It seems, however, most probable that the interest of Cormeilles in Strigul or Chepstow, which the foundation of the Cell or Priory there, and the erection of the Conventual Church would soon follow, was subsequent to the accession of the Clares to this Lordship, and probably derived from some grant of the first Earl Richard Fitz Gilbert before-mentioned, or his son. Many errors have been produced by Dugdale's confusion as to facts and dates in this Pedigree, which the references in the tables of "*Duchesne's Scriptores Historiæ Normannorum*," and the table of the Anglo-Norman Lords of Strigul here given will point out.¹ It will be shewn by the History of Ordericus, contained in Duchesne's Collection, that the captivity and death of the first Earl Richard Fitz Gilbert took place in 1091, the latter event being casually mentioned in a singularly wild and horrible legend, in which the spectres of the Earl and his brother Baldwin, "*qui nuper obierant*," are introduced.²

The architectural character of what remained of the Church before the late alterations did not vary much from other specimens referred generally to the date last cited, and it possessed an interest, by shewing what the style was likely to have been of the *original* Church of Tintern, founded by the same family of Clare about 1131.

It may be added, that in the Inquisition after the death of Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk and Lord Marcher of Strigul, who, through the Marshalls, was one of the heirs general of Clare, he is stated to have held the patronage of "*Strugoil*," as "*de fundatione antecessorum suorum*," and the priest is also

¹ See Pedigree of Clare, p. 62, preceding.

² See p. 62.

stated to have been bound to perform service, thrice in each week, within the Earl's Castle there.

THE NEXT POINT relates to the appearance of the Church before the late alterations, and, first to the question, whether any CENTRAL TOWER and CHOIR ever existed to the east of the piers and the Norman Arch existing in 1840, at the west end of the nave, and *evidently erected with the intention of supporting a Tower.*

The existence of such Tower rests on the authority of Archdeacon Cox, who states, in 1810, that "it fell down about ninety years ago"—(viz. about 1720) and that "the old Clerk" averred that "a bell founder who died in 1770, aged eighty, ascended to the top a few days before its fall."

Leland says nothing bearing on this point, in the time of Henry VIII.

Camden, in his last edition,² says of Chepstow, "*Castrum habet—et e regione stetit Prioratus cujus parte meliori demolita, quod reliquum est in Ecclesiam Parochialem convertitur.*" This merely asserts the demolition of the *Conventual buildings*, and the conversion of the Church itself to parochial uses.

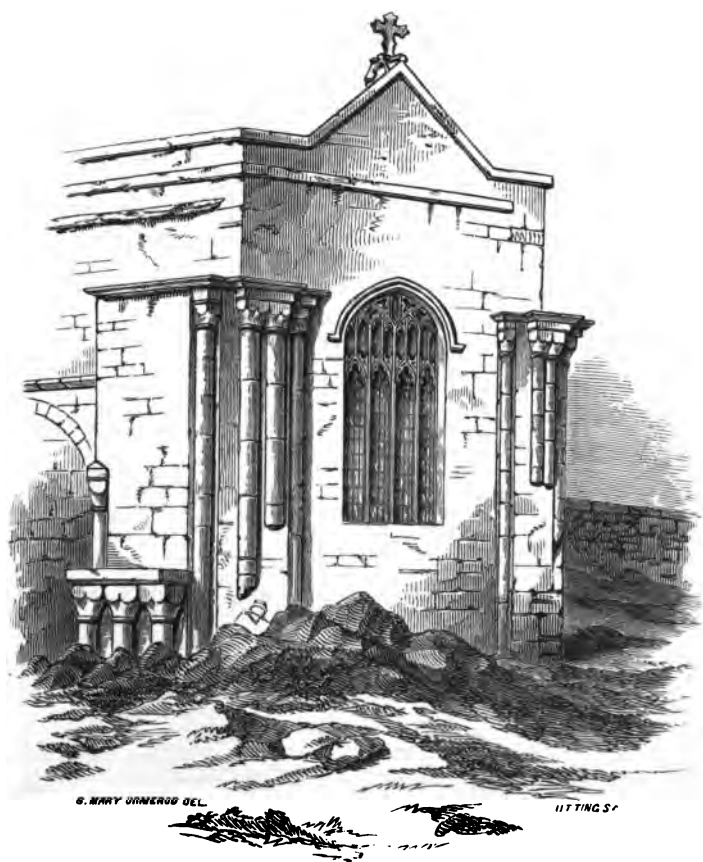
The Valor Ecclesiasticus, 26 Hen. VIII, mentions endowments for the Chapel of St. Catherine within the Church, and for the service of the Holy Cross, but nothing more.

The following points, which are *adverse* to the tradition, are within the writer's knowledge. I. When the eastern piers and arch were taken down previous to the late alterations, and foundations were dug for the extension of new buildings eastwards, no vestiges of the two other piers requisite for supporting a Tower appeared, or remains of *any* former foundations to the eastward of the nave as then existing.

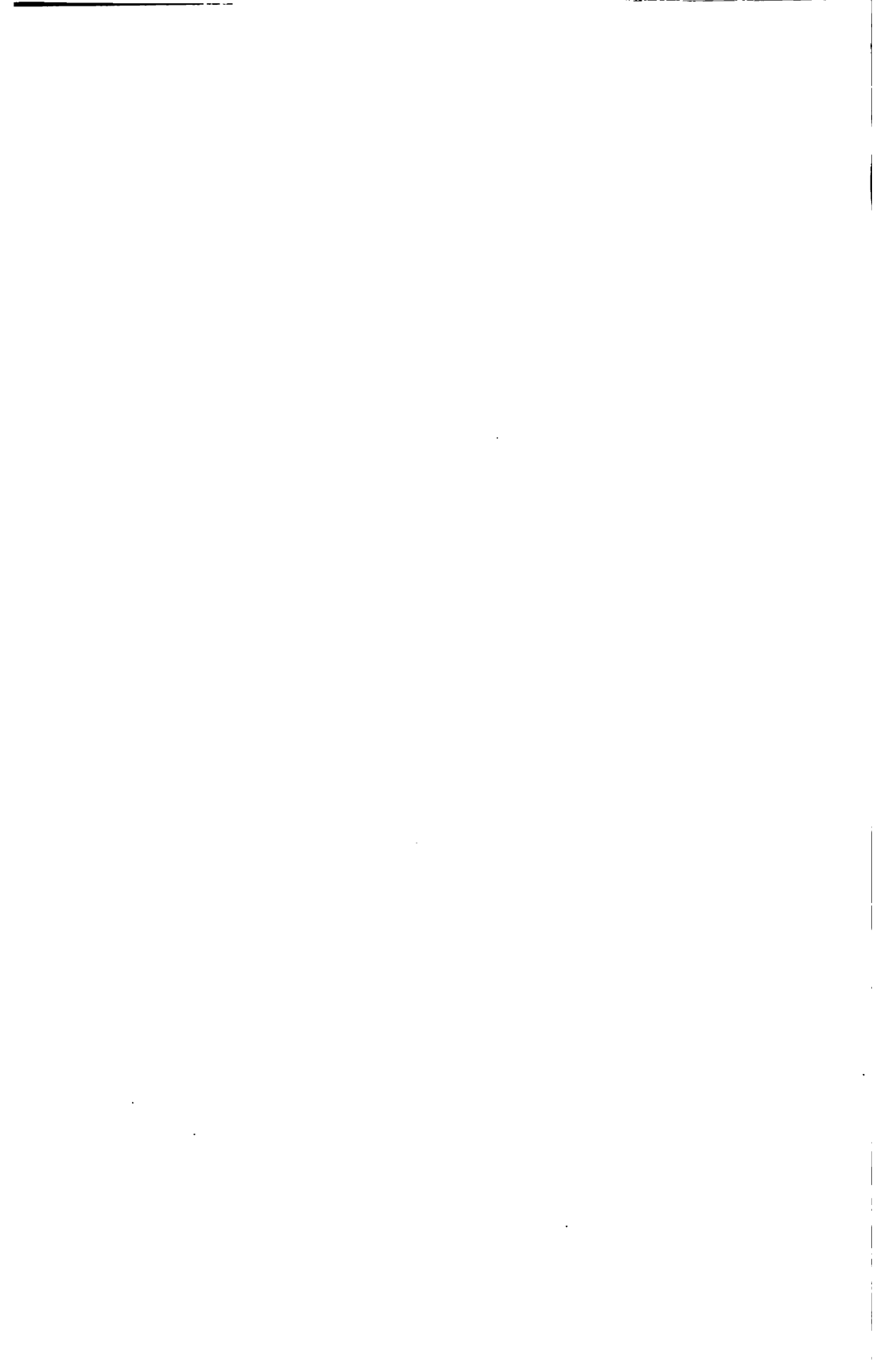
II. The space between the two piers and under the terminating arch of the nave, was filled up with old masonry, and contained a window, of which an inaccurate delineation is

¹ P. 361.

² 1607, p. 487.



EAST END OF CHEPSTOW CHURCH, 1888.



given by Hoare, and which was in the perpendicular style of the fifteenth century, and irreconcilable with probability of modern insertion. It is correctly represented in the delineation annexed.

III. The measures of Chepstow Church given by William of Worcester, in the fifteenth century, are, length 50 *virgæ*, breadth 33. Those given by Mr. Blore, on the plan sent to the author by Bishop Copleston and according with his own, are, length 123 feet, breadth 71 feet. Whatever this "*virga*" of William might be, the proportion of breadth and length at both periods was nearly the same, namely as *three to five*, and the reader will probably consider the *account* of the extension of the Church eastward having been ever effected, as well as that of the falling of the central Tower, to require additional confirmation—although it is certain from the piers and arch remaining before the late alterations that such extension was intended by the Norman Architect.

THE REMAINS of the Anglo-Norman Church, as they appeared at the time of proposing the alterations, in 1837, consisted of a nave and side aisles, of a comparatively modern North Porch, concealing a beautiful Norman Arch, with a niche in the Early English style over it, Belfry Tower, erected in 1705-6,¹ under direction of the Port Surveyor, over the two westernmost arches of the Nave, and the characteristic Norman Western Porch.

THE WESTERN ENTRANCE, in the arrangement of its Norman Doorway, with its lateral blank arches, and the three round headed windows over it, was and is almost a counterpart of the beautiful entrance of St. George's at Bocheville, built about 1050.² This point has been hitherto overlooked. The Eastern piers intended for the support of a central Tower, bore also a close resemblance to some of the simpler parts of that noble fabric. The side aisles also agreed at their

¹ Entry in the Parish Register.

² Cotman's Arch. Antiq. of Normandy.

western end with the same Norman fabric, and, although much disfigured by comparatively modern windows in an anomalous pointed style, had originally been lighted by small round headed ones set high in the wall.

THE AISLES were separated from the nave by six unusually massy Piers, in the most pure and simple sense of PIER, connected by plain round arches with impost mouldings, excepting the two easternmost piers, intended to have supported the west angles of a central Tower. The attached pilasters of these Piers had capitals.

Over the round arches of the nave were and still remain Triforia, and over them a row of Clerestory windows, all early Norman, and the roofs of the side aisles and nave as shewn by fragments, had been vaulted with arches of tufa placed between ribs of oolite. These arches were sprung from vaulting shafts, omitted in Hoare's elevation, but ascending from the first string course in front of every pier.

THE DEMOLITION was as follows.

The easternmost pair of arches was taken down, together with the piers from which these arches and the noble Norman Arch erected for the support of a central Tower, were sprung. By the removal of these Eastern Arches, and the previous introduction of the Belfry Tower between the two western ones, (as mentioned) the original *six* compartments of the nave were reduced to *four* on each side. The nave was further shortened in apparent length by the concealment of an Arch at each side, in consequence of the recent extension of the Organ Gallery eastwards.

The north porch was also destroyed, but its ornamental Norman Arch and niche were preserved by the insertion of the first under the Belfry Tower, and by placing one niche at the east end, on one side of the Communion Table, with a new corresponding one on the other side.

With respect to ADDITIONS and ALTERATIONS.

Two new Transepts, with Galleries, and a small Chancel

have been attached to the west end of the remains of the former Nave.

The FONT, which may be justly admired and which stood on three octagonal steps between the western and northern entrances, is placed on the north side near the Belfry Tower.

The floor had been raised above the original level before the alterations, and was again raised, the ceiling being lowered. The original height was about forty feet from the ground to the spring of the vaulting.¹

¹ The architectural antiquary is referred to an essay on this church by Mr. Freeman, in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, N. S., vol. ii; and illustrations of the style of architecture exhibited by this church, as it appeared before the late alterations, may be obtained from Cotman's plates of St. George's at Bochartville, and those of St. Albans, and of the vaults under Bow church, published by the Society of Antiquaries in the *Vetusta Monumenta*.

X.

ON THE ANCIENT LEADEN FONTS AT TIDENHAM AND LLANCAUT, AND THE EARLY CONNEXION OF THOSE PARISHES.¹

THE next subject is the consideration of the LEADEN FONTS² of TIDENHAM and LLANCAUT, which is necessarily mixed up with much of the early History of the district.

These Fonts are referable from their style to the transition period of Saxon and Anglo-Norman Architecture, and in addition to their high antiquity, and the rare occurrence of leaden Fonts, derive interest from circumstances connected with their mutual correspondence, both being certainly cast from the same mould.

The Parishes of Llancaut and Tidenham are distinct in every sense, civil and ecclesiastical, except that both are included within the manor of Tidenham, and the *present* fabrics of the two several churches seem to be, in every part, more modern than the fonts under discussion. That of Tidenham is chiefly in the style of the fourteenth century, excepting the south doorways of the nave and chancel, and tall, narrow, trefoil-headed windows in the north aisle. The diminutive, and almost disused church of Llancaut (which measures only about

¹ Rearranged from a Memoir in *Archæologia*, xxix, p. 17.

² See Mr. Dawson Turner's remarks on the leaden font of Bourg Achard, in *Normandy*, ii, 97; and Mr. Gough's observations on ancient fonts, *Archæologia*, vol. x, 187; and also Canon 81, directing "a font of stone" in every church (according to a former Constitution) "in which only font the minister shall baptize publicly."

Mr. Gough only knew four leaden fonts. The Editor reckons and names twenty-two in the Proceedings of the *Archæological Institute*, vol. vi, p. 162.

forty feet in length and twelve in breadth), possesses nothing of a decidedly architectural character excepting one small round-headed window at the east end, with plain cylindrical shafts attached, which are without capitals.

It is impossible to conceive any situation more fit to carry the mind back to the period of the early British anchorites than the position of this rude fabric, in one of the most romantic crooks of the Wye, overhung by precipices, and surrounded by woods, which still extend, almost continuously, to the actual forest of Dean, and justify the appellation of Llancaut, or the Church of the Wood. Tradition states it to be one of the most ancient places of worship in the district, and its romantic and sequestered site still retains many of the attractions that might be supposed likely to have tempted a pupil of the schools of St. David's, or of St. Iltut at Llantwit, with both of which places lines of Roman Way gave communication. It may also be added, that the Tutshill, on the left bank of the Wye below Llancaut, the very name of the contiguous parish of Tidenham, and the peculiar character of a conical hill in the opposite grounds of Piercefield, connected with earthworks which apparently are not of a military character, all point to the local worship of Teutates, and to those scenes of Celtic superstition which were often selected by the early Christians of Britain for the site of a purer worship. A reference to Bowles's *Dissertation on the Worship of the Celtic Deity*, and to the sites of the churches of Stanton Drewe and Abury, will confirm the observation.¹

¹ *Hermes Britannicus*, London, 1828, pp. 79, 105. The small dimensions of the church of Llancaut, possibly built on still more ancient foundations, are analogous to those of the early British oratories in Cornwall, described in the *Journal of the Archæological Institute*, ii, p. 225, namely, St. Piran's, St. Gwythian's, etc., etc.; and the situation is "beside a spring, near a river, and adjacent to a tidal stream", though not "the sea-shore", as in the case of the last. In all these situations the spring appears to have been an essential.

See also the description of St. Patric's Chapel at Heysham, in Lan-

We have, however, documentary evidence as to the existence of an Ecclesiastical Establishment in the manor, within which these two churches are situated, as early as the tenth century, though with respect to the age of the churches themselves the evidence is very unequal.

With respect to LLANCAUT (as distinguished from Tidenham) Domesday is silent:¹ but it occurs as a Rectorial Church in the Ecclesiastical Taxation of 1291, receiving a sum as "Portio Rectoris," as an acknowledgment, from Tidenham.

With respect to TIDENHAM, we find that in 956 Edwy, then ascending the English throne,² gave to the Seculars of Bath Abbey thirty manses, with all appendages, specified largely, and extending apparently over all the lands of the district, "*illo in loco qui a rurigenis appellatur Dyddenhame,*" with exemptions from everything except the usual three services.³ The Benedictines (who succeeded to the Seculars in the same Abbey) granted these manses, with their appendages, *for life*, to Archbishop Stigand (the Confessor of King Edward), who was disgraced by the Conqueror, and died in prison.

Domesday notices Tidenham under three distinct heads, in

cashire, of somewhat similar dimensions, in Proceedings of the Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society, iii, p. 278; and Whitaker's Richmondshire, vol. ii.

¹ It must be distinguished from the "*Lancoit*" of another early document, "The Book of Llandaff," (Mon. Ang., vi, 1225,) which follows the lands granted by British princes to that see, extending from Matherne to Portcasseg immediately opposite to *Llancaut*. The site of this other place of kindred name was in Llyswen parish, Brecknockshire. The syllable *Llan* is not limited to inclosures of a sacred nature, but is presumed to indicate it here.

² Kemble's *Diplomata Anglo-Saxonum*, vol. ii, p. 327. An analysis of the Survey annexed to the Charter, will be found in p. 57, preceding; and Kemble's remarks on the customs of Tidenham, in his *Saxons in England*, i, p. 320.

³ See the late edition of the *Monasticon*, vol. ii, 256, 264, and Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, ii, p. 327, iii, pp. 444, 450, and note at the end of this Memoir.

⁴ Domesday, vol. i, 164, 166 b, 167 b.

all of which the interest of Stigand is mentioned, but the Conqueror ignored the nature of his interest in it, and seizing it absolutely, gave it to William Fitz Osberne, Earl of Hereford. This Earl died in Flanders in 1071, and was succeeded in possession by his son, Roger de Bretteville, who forfeited by rebellion.

THE CHURCH OF THE MANOR (*Ecclesia Manerii*) was given by Earl William to the Abbey of Lire in Normandy, and necessarily existed before 1071, and the gift was the grant of the Church of *Tidenham*, as distinct from Llancaut, for the Earl's alienation did not include the latter, the advowson of which has passed with the manor to the present day. The only period, therefore, during which the *two* advowsons would be vested in the same patron would be between 956, the date of Edwy's grant to Bath Abbey, and a period shortly antecedent to the death of Earl William in 1071, Stigand being tenant only under the Abbey of Bath.

There is no evidence as to the exact time when the original Church of *Tidenham*, existing in 1071, was built, and the Hamlet of Churchend, in which it stands, is not noticed by name in the Saxon Survey of 956. It and the present Wibdon, the only present hamlets unnamed in that Survey, were certainly subdivisions of "Middell" there mentioned.

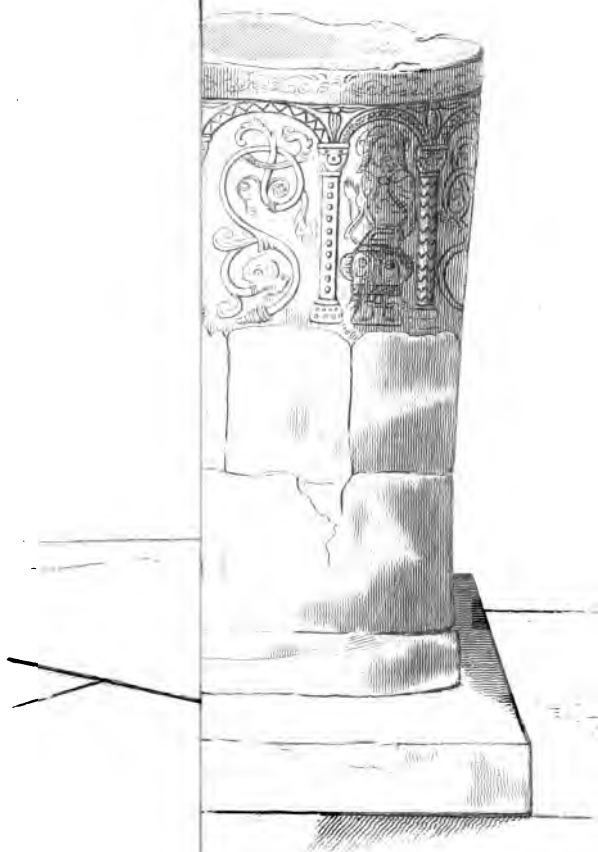
From the obvious high antiquity of the Fonts, and the rarity of Fonts of lead in later periods, it was considered probable when this Memoir was first communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, that the two Fonts might have been presented to the two several Churches whilst under common patronage, and if so, most probably during that of the Seculars of Bath Abbey, as the possession by the Earls of Hereford was short and disturbed. Subsequent research has however added greatly to the number of remaining leaden fonts,¹ and two, seemingly unconnected with Bath Abbey, have been found in Gloucestershire, at Syston and Frampton, closely resembling

¹ See note in p. 84.

those of Tidenham and Llancaut. The most probable date, therefore, must be left to the architectural antiquary; but it is not likely to be more recent than the eleventh century.

From this let us turn to the Fonts themselves, the decorations of which are in mezzo-relievo, and precisely the same in both, consisting of figures and foliage ranged alternately under ornamented circular arches, the design on the perfect font of Tidenham being thrice repeated. The figures will be understood better from the annexed engraving than verbal description, but may be stated to represent two venerable figures, in rich dresses, seated on thrones, the first figure holding a sealed book, the second raising his hand, as in the act of benediction, after removal of the seal from a similar book, which is grasped in his hand. Each of these obviously represents the Second Person of the Trinity. It is left to the architectural critic to consider the costume of the bearded figures, the foliage, the scrolls and decorations of the thrones. The attitude of the figure with the elevated hand and book occurs in very numerous instances. In one at St. Lo (Cotman's *Normandy*, ii, 88), such a figure is referred to the time of Charlemagne by Dawson Turner, and a remarkable similar one occurs in St. Æthelwald's *Benedictional* (*Archæologia*, xxiv, p. 87), and one at Barfreton may be mentioned among other Anglo-Norman instances. The most modern of these, however, carries back the illustration to remote antiquity.

The TIDENHAM FONT is completely perfect, and previous to late alterations, during which it was removed to a baptistery under the Tower, stood, as represented in the annexed engraving, on a short cylindrical column with plain projecting base and cap; but that of Llancaut has suffered much damage besides loss of two of the original twelve compartments. This latter font is placed on a column with a projecting plinth, circular in its lower part and octagonal above, very rudely cut, and apparently adapted to the reduced diameter of the Font. In other points resemblance between the two Fonts is exact.



Llancaul.

Gloucestershire. 1840.

Sarah Ormerod del.

J. S. 1840.

XI.

ON THE ORIGINAL ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MARCHERSHIP OF STRIGUL, AND THE ECCLESIASTICAL FOUNDATIONS AND MANERIAL RESIDENCES WITHIN IT IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

THE interests of the Crown and those of the successive Anglo-Norman grantees in the Lordship Marcher of Strigul have been already noticed,¹ but it may be desirable to append a few observations on the anomalies remarkable in the original formation of that portion which lay within the present area of Monmouthshire, and in the mode in which the Gloucestershire portion was withdrawn from connexion with the Saxon and Norman Hundreds of that County.

The principle, on which the Anglo-Normans and their successors formed their Marcherships, was, almost universally, an unrecorded permission from the sovereign to enter and conquer and appropriate Cambrian territory, after which a Castle was erected in some desirable position by the military adventurer, and a jurisdiction analogous to that of a Palatinate established.

THE PORTION OF STRIGUL MARCHERSHIP, on the right bank of the Wye, shall be first noticed. It was acquired by Saxon, not by Norman conquest, which Domesday passes over, although it notices the subsequent devastation by "Rex Caraduech," which was on Harold's lands at Porteskewit. The survey also notices the Castle of Estrighoiel, built by Earl William Fitz Osberne, the forfeiture by his son Roger de Bretteville, and resumption by the Crown, nu-

¹ Pp. 62, 63.

merous sub-tenantry between the Wye and Usk, Caldecote, Caerwent, and Caerleon, and lands granted back to a Welsh Prince, under the King's permission. The greater part of this is described as being in "Wales", but the entire description is included within the general *heading* of "GLOWCEST'SCIRE," although no portion of it is classed under the Hundreds of that County.¹

Perhaps the arrangement was made with reference to juxtaposition only, but it is observable that in another instance, namely that of "CESTRESCIRE," where the lands of the later Lancashire between Ribble and Mersey, and the Welsh lands in the valley of the Dee and the Clwyd, follow those of the Palatinate, a different arrangement is adopted. The general heading is discontinued, although no other heading is substituted.²

There is, however, one much later record, the Inq. after the death of Earl Roger Bigod, 35 Edw. I (1306) in which the connexion of the Marchership is noticed with reference to the entire territory between Usk and Wye, and the tenants are stated to be bound to follow their Lord at their own charge in time of war, in the parts of "Strogoil,"—"namely "to the bridge of Strogoil, to the bridge of the New Burgh, "and to the bridge of Troye."

The consideration now passes to the part of the former Marchership on the left or GLOUCESTERSHIRE BANK OF THE WYE, the constitution of which presented a still greater anomaly. This portion of the Marchership, which was nearly coextensive with the obsolete Hundred of Twyford, is stated in the Hundred Rolls to have extended from the Cotte to the Bridge of Strigul, and was, of course, bounded laterally by the Wye and the Severn.

The Jurors found that "Twyford Hundred was in the hands of King John, and within the County, and now (4 Edw. I) in those of the Earl Marshall, and did not answer

¹ Domesday, vol. i, 162.

² Vol. i, 268b-270.

to the County. That the same Earl had his Liberty from the Cone to the Bridge of Strigul by warrant unknown, and Chase and Free Warren in the same limits."¹

The errors of the Tintern Chronicle² with respect to a non-existent William Fitz Osbert, have been already noticed.³ A further error connected with the present subject consists in a statement that such person had grant of Wollaston, and half of Tidenham from the Conqueror, which the Domesday survey, completed in the time of Will. II, will best rectify, by shewing a different appropriation of the parts of the future "Earl Marshall's Liberty." It consisted partly of Tidenham Manor, which had been forfeited by William Fitz Osborne, and, at the time of the Survey, was in the hands of the king. The other parts were Wollaston, Alverdeston, and a small part of Tidenham, which continued in the hands of the Count of Eu, and were forfeited by him in 1093; and lastly, another small part of Tidenham and Modiete then vested in Roger de Laci, and also forfeited subsequently."⁴

All this district therefore returned to the hands of the king. At a "Justice Seat" of the Forest, 10 E. I, it was found that it had been temporarily considered part of the Forest of Dean, which is corrected both as to it and as to parishes lying to the North of it, by a later decision in the same reign.⁵ It is possible there may have been some irregular and temporary afforestation.

The next proprietors of the lands commensurate with this subsequent "Liberty," may safely be considered to have been the Clares, with reference to the grants within its *future area* to Tintern Abbey, founded by Walter de Clare, in 1131, and recited in the Confirmation Charter of William Earl of Pembroke, in 7. H. 3, 1223.

¹ Rotuli Hundredorum, vol. ii, p. 181.

² Mon. Ang., v, p. 270.

³ See p. 62.

⁴ See Domesday, vol. i, pp. 964, col. 1, 166b, col. 2, 167b, col. 2.

⁵ Rudder's Gloucestershire, Appendix, p. i.

From that period Tidenham descended with Chepstow Lordship, as the property of the heirs of Clare and Marshall, down to 1468, when they, with their appended rights, were exchanged by John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, with William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, for various manors in Norfolk and Suffolk of which the Earl had recently obtained possession.

The rest, namely WOLLASTON, with MODIETE (or Modesgat) and ALVERDESTON, which merged in Wollaston, had been granted to Tintern, and on the Dissolution were given to the Earl of Worcester. It is unnecessary to add, that this property descended from the Herberts through the Somersets to the Ducal House of Beaufort, but the Statute 27 H. VIII, completely changed the nature of the Marcherships. By cap. 26, sec. 13, of this act, "Wollastone, Tidnam and Bechley," with all Honours, etc., etc., lying between Chepstow Bridge in the Marches of Wales and Gloucestershire, were joined to the County of Gloucester, without any "Liberty, Franchise or Privilege but as Parcel of the Hundred of Westbury."¹

So far with respect to the Marchership formed on the

¹ Subsequent to this Act (viz., in Michaelmas Term, 17 Elizabeth), in answer to a Writ of Quo Warranto, William, Earl of Worcester, pleaded the rights still remaining to him in Tidenham and Wollaston, and stated that Tidenham Manor had been in the Marches from time immemorial, and that Bettesley was a member of the same, and that Tidenham had been and then was "Dominium-Marchionale"; and, further, stated the release by John Duke of Norfolk to William Earl of Pembroke, and the subsequent descent of Tidenham.

Also with respect to "Wollaston and Brokwere", that the Abbots of Tynterne had regal rights in the same, and added the descent of Tintern lands from the time of the grant to the Earl of Worcester.

The Customs of the Manor of Tidenham are stated in the Inq. after the death of Roger, Earl of Norfolk, 35 Edw. I. Much will be found as to the exchange above mentioned, in the Petition of the coheirs of Thomas Charles of Loddon in Norfolk (Rot. Parl., vi, 292), and in the Charter of Edw. IV, ratifying the exchange under a Writ of Privy Seal (Rot. Cart., 8-10 Edw. IV, No. 14), and as to descent of property, in the Inquisition after the death of Henry Earl of Worcester, 4 Edw. VI.

Gloucestershire side of the Wye, as portion of a Lordship eminently powerful, from its locality, and the importance of its feudal Lords, but most irregular in its original formation and anomalous in its composition. A reference to the Inquisition taken in 1306, after the death of Roger, Earl of Norfolk, will give the means of examining all the minutiae of the arrangements and tenures within the Marchership, and it may be added that the difference in the characters of its composition on the two several sides of the Wye was most remarkable.

Its outlying military defence towards Wales, on the right bank of the Wye, was formed by the Castles of the adjacent Marcherships of Caldecote, Newport, Usk, and Monmouth. Within this fence, and within the boundaries of Strigul were the Religious Houses of Chepstow, Tintern, and St. Kingsmark, and the Episcopal Palace of Matherne. The note below will supply the names of the Castelletts of the military tenants of the Marchership, all more or less defensible.¹ On the Glouces-

¹ These Fortalices of the Knights of Strigul, which formed part of the defence of the Norman Marchership, were **PENCOED**, **PENHOW** or **ST. MAUR** (the cradle of the Seymours), **LANVAIR**, **DINHAM**, **CRICKE**, **MATHERNE** (afterwards **MOYN'S COURT**), and **HODGETON** now **ITTON**, all of which rose on lands held by military service before the close of the twelfth century, though successive devastations have left little that is Norman visible in their existing remains.

At **MOYN'S COURT** (so called from the marriage of Thomas de Moigne with the relict of its feudal lord, the Baron Thomas de Knovill, recorded in Inq. p. m. 36 Edw. III, and not from monastic connexion, as Coxe supposed), the military works are conspicuous behind the mansion (see Ordnance map), on a tongue of land, strengthened by the marshes of the Murig, which separate it from St. Pierre.

This venerable mansion of St. **PIERRE** is surrounded by extensive acquisitions of its ancient owners, but belongs to a class of mansions distinct from that of the fortalices above mentioned. On the attainder of Sir John Mynstreworth of Mynstreworth (an owner unknown to Coxe and to the controversialists on the subject of the sepulchral memorials of the St. Pierres here), an inquisition then taken describes it as being, in 47 Edw. III, a messuage with two carucates. At all events, as a detached outlier of Caerleon Marchership, it could not have been a military

tershire side of the Wye the case was very different. The "Liberty" was protected by the Royal Castle of St. Briavels, situated on the Wye a few miles to the north of it; in somewhat earlier days the Castle of the Counts of Eu at Newnham, had protected the passage of the Severn, but nothing savoured of war or fear of Cambrian irruption, to the south of these fortresses, between the two estuaries. In Tidenham the Lord Marcher had his CHASE on the hill, and his preserve, noticed in Charters, at Park-Wood, on the edge of Sedbury. Further to the northward, within Tidenham and Wollaston, the Abbot of Tintern had his Granges of MODESGATE, HALISHALL, WOLLASTON and ALVERDESTON,¹ edifices which are now reduced to mere farm-houses, but, as far as can be judged by the remains of the extended moat at Plusterwine, (formerly Alverdeston), and of the Monastic Chapel at Wollaston Grange, were once equal to considerable mansions. The last named edifice still exhibits its lancet windows, one of which in the eastern front has

outpost of Strigul, the dependencies of which still encircle, but do not include it.

The Tower of TROGAY in Wentwood (which Camden has confounded with Strigul itself) is also omitted in the list above, as being of later date. This has been ascertained from the Inq. after the death of Earl Roger Bigod, 35 Edw. I., which describes it as "*Turris apud Torrogy de novo constitutus.*" (See p. 71.)

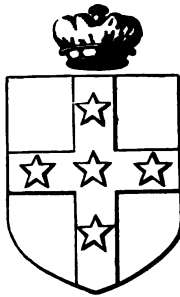
¹ Alverdeston, the Aluredeston of Domesday, has been referred to Alliston in Lydney by Sir Robert Atkins, and his error is followed by later writers. To identify any place with the undoubted Alverdeston of the Tintern evidences, it is necessary to prove the following coincidences; viz., that it was granted to Tintern by the Lords of Strigul, and to the Earl of Worcester after the Dissolution, that it has the Cistercian exemption from tithes, that its locality is consistent with the Earl Marshall's privilege of wreck, with the early fishery noticed in Domesday, and the later line of fishing weirs, extending along the abbey lands from Waldingspull to Conebrook, and also with a proper position for holding courts jointly with Wollaston and Halishall. All this will appear on collating the Charters and Surveys of Tintern Abbey, in the Monasticon, and the claims in the Hundred Rolls to accord with Higher Plusterwine, the "Alwoods Grange" of the Ordnance Map, and no one point in it is reconcilable with Alliston.

mouldings approaching the flamboyant style. The Norman Convent of De Lyra had also a Cell or dependent monastic foundation at Tidenham.

But in this district there was only one Mansion of a considerable lay family, BADAMS COURT in Sedbury, the seat of John Lord Ap Adam, a military peer of the time of Edward I, and well known as the "Dominus de Beverstone" after his alliance with the rich heiress of the Gurnay family. With him the descent of the family, as far as it can be proved by direct evidence, begins, his Barony, created by writ of Summons in 1297, ending with him. All that can be gleaned from recorded evidences relative to his descendants, now for the first time collected from original charters and records, is given in the chapter following.

XII.

MEMOIR OF THE FAMILY OF SIR JOHN AP ADAM OF
BADAMSCOURT AND BETESLEY, SUBSEQUENTLY BARON
OF BEVERSTONE, AND ALSO SUMMONED BY WRIT AS A
PARLIAMENTARY BARON FROM MCCXCVII. TO MCCCX.



THE subject of the following Memoir involves the original locality and the personal history of a powerful Baron of the time of Edward I, suddenly elevated by his alliance with the heiress of the House of de Gurnay. Much confusion has resulted from attempts to connect the descent of this Baron, JOHN AP ADAM, of Betesley and BADAMSCOURT, in Tidenham, afterwards Lord of Beverstone, with the line of the HERBERTS, which Dugdale has avoided by commencing with the ennobled *Cambrian* himself, for to that country his patronymic refers him.

In another point Dugdale is less fortunate,¹ when he states, after mentioning Sir Thomas Ap Adams' succession, and his son's alienation of Beverstone 4 Edw. III, that after such time he had "*not seen anything of him or his posterity.*"²

¹ Baronage, vol. ii, p. 10.

² In the same spirit, Sir H. Nicolas (Retrospective Review, second series, i, 299) doubts the existence of evidence on the subject of this

The following pages will show that such evidence lay within Dugdale's range, and the author's possession of a portion of Sir John ap Adam's original Gloucestershire estate and its deeds, and consequent local knowledge, will enable him to add much to previous illustrations of the subject. The first point desirable for the sake of clearness, is to *separate* the discussion avowedly and entirely from the Herbert Pedigree.

The students of English or of Cambrian genealogy, will be aware of an alleged Commission, stated to have been issued by Edward IV, for the purpose of ascertaining the descent of of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, in order to justify an assumption of the name of Herbert, and a foregoing of the "British Order and Manner of using varying patronymics."

The alleged Commission is given in Coxe's Monmouthshire,¹ and in Fenton's Pembrokeshire,² and the matter of it by Sandford,³ and in Dugdale's Baronage,⁴ and the Report is finally reprinted in Sir S. R. Meyrick's, "Visitations of Wales, by Lewis Dwnn."⁵ Meyrick stigmatises it as a "*forgery*," and gives reasons for supposing the real date of the "*pretended document*" to have been of the time of Edward VI.

The connection of this document with the present subject is as follows:—Sir John Ap Adam, a Baron by Summons, and Lord of Beverstone in right of his wife, was certainly possessed of a small estate in the Hamlet of Beteslè, now Beachley, in Tidenham, before he acquired infinitely greater possessions by marriage with the heiress of de Gurnay. The alleged Report of the Commission cited above asserts the male descent of William Herbert, patriarch of the later noble Houses of Her-

Memoir. The writer has the advantage of his own title-deeds, of kind communications by Mr. Wakeman of the Graig, the collections of the late Mr. Huntley of Boxwell, and documents on the subject of the Ap Adam pedigree arranged and communicated most kindly by Sir C. G. Young, Garter.

¹ P. 421.

² Appendix, No. vi.

³ P. 31.

⁴ Vol. ii, p. 256.

⁵ Vol. i, p. 197.

bert and their collaterals, to have been from *Jenkin Ap Adam*, younger brother of a *Sir Thomas Ap Adam*, and alleges the previous race of *Herberts*, therein considered to have been ancestors of Sir Thomas, to have obtained this Gloucestershire Betesle, and also Llanllowell in Monmouthshire, by successive marriages.

Some genealogists have considered SIR JOHN AP ADAM above-mentioned, to have been identical with this Sir Thomas, others have stated him to be his son,¹ without evidence of any kind, but in illustrating the history of this Sir John, his descendants and his estates, the writer has to aver that he never met with any document giving proof of his parentage in any way, and he therefore *commences with him*, without any disparagement of Herbert descent, or of those who differ from Meyrick as to his estimate of the alleged Commission.

I. Connexion of SIR JOHN AP ADAM with the subjects of this volume commences with his interest in BETESLE (now Beachley), a Hamlet of Tidenham, Gloucestershire; situated between the Wye and the Severn at their confluence, consisting of three hundred and twenty-five acres, and considered to be the site of a mesne Manor, dependent on the superior Manor of Tidenham. From the Inquisition taken after the death of Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, in 35 Edward I, 1306, it appears that the tenants of John Ap Adam paid *xs.* annually for their lands within this Vill, four of them also performing services in Villenage, and the Inquisition also mentions the render of *vs.* and a Clove, for another Tenement in Tidenham. BADAMSCOURT within *Sedbury*, has not occurred by name before 1448, but its Site, demonstrated by existing ruins and vestiges of former moat, its private mill within the curtilage, the Haia, still traceable by name, and the intermingled Millfields and Magor Leazes, were the property of the

¹ Welsh MS. Collections, Coll. Arm., xiii, p. 112.

same Sir John Ap Adam, by tenure independent of the Manor of Tidenham, in 6 Edward II, 1310, as is shewn by existing records of the suits between the Lord Ralph Monthermer, and Milo de Rodberewe, of Magor, respecting the wardship of Thomas Ap Adam, in that year.

No notice of Llanlloewell near Usk, stated in the alleged Report to have been obtained in marriage by the Herberts, has occurred among the documents relating to Sir John Ap Adam, or to his male descendants, and it is supposed by a very competent judge¹ on this subject, to have been a matrimonial acquisition, of his later descendants in female line, the family of Ap Thomlyn or Huntley.

OF THE GREAT INHERITANCE of the wife of Sir John Ap Adam, ELIZABETH, only daughter and heiress of JOHN DE GURNAY, BARON OF BEVERSTONE, and of his wife, Oliva de Lovel, a very different account must be given. Her family were the *male line* of the HARPETRES of Somersetshire, and represented in female descent the Gurnays, Gands, the de Were branch of Berkeley and other ancient Baronial houses, and possessed estates stretching, manor after manor, from Elberton on the left bank of the Severn to the neighbourhood of Wells, with various estates in Wiltshire and other counties. After the death of Anselm de Gurnay, in 1285, part of these estates had passed away from the elder line to a younger brother, Robert de Gurnay, Lord of Overwere; and another part to another brother, Thomas de Gurnay, father of Thomas de Gurnay, beheaded for his share in the murder of Edward II.

But an immense estate remained for the inheritance of Lady Ap Adam, the daughter and heiress of the eldest son. It included Beverstone Castle, manor and advowson, Purton, Redwick and Northwick, Over, King's Weston, and part of Elberton in Gloucestershire, manors and lands in Barrow, Farrington, Harpetrè, Over Weare, and Tykenham, in Somersetshire, and the manor of East Hampnet, in Suffolk. From

¹ Thomas Wakeman, Esq., of the Graig, near Monmouth.

Gurnay also was probably derived the Ap Adam property in La Lee, Gloucestershire, Stoke St. Michael and Downhead, in Somersetshire, Penyard, Herefordshire, and Sherncote, Wilts. All or most of this property was rapidly squandered by the succeeding generations.

Ample accounts of this great family of de Gurnay will be found in the works referred to below.¹ The heiress had been united to her husband, SIR JOHN AP ADAM, before the death of her father, which took place in 19 Edward I, and in that year according to the records cited by Dugdale, he did fealty and had livery of her estates; and in 21 Edward I, had grant of market fair and free warren at Beverstone.²

In 24 Edward I, an Inquisition was taken after the death of Oliva, widow of Sir John Gurnay³ and Sir John Ap Adam completed his matrimonial acquisitions by doing fealty, receiving livery of the estates held in capite.⁴ In 26 Edward I, he had charter of market for Netherwere, part of these, and of free warren for Barewe.⁵

Other notices, in the Parliamentary Writs and the documents published with them by the Record Commission, give the following particulars.⁶

In 25 Edward I, 1297, John Ap Adam received his first Writ of Summons to Parliament held at Salisbury, and his first Writ for performance of military service on July 7, in the same year. In 1300-1, 29 Edward I, he occurs among the Barons, who are stated to have addressed a well known alleged letter to Pope Boniface VIII, being described as "Dominus de Beverston," and in 1308, he appears among the Barons summoned to attend the Coronation of Edward II. His name also occurs in various documents connected with the conservancy

¹ Dugdale's Baronage, i, p. 430; Collinson's Somersetshire, ii, 137; Brydges's Collins's Peerage, vii, 366.

² Rot. Cart., 21 Edw. I, No. 19.

³ Inq. p. m., 24 Edw. I, No. 28.

⁴ Originalia, 24 Edw. I, Ro. 14.

⁵ Cart., 26 Edw. I., Memb. 6.

⁶ See Alphabetical Digest for references, vols. i and ii.

of the Peace, and on Ap. 1, 1310, he is directed to use greater activity in his office. His last Summons to Parliament is dated Dec. 12, 1309, and his last summons for military service on Aug. 2, 4 Edward II, 1310.

On Sept. 19, in the same year he offers the services for a Knight's fee and half, with reference to his Somersetshire estates, for the muster at Tweedmouth, and in the same year a Writ was issued to the Escheator, to take into his possession all the lands of which he had died seized.¹ This service was duly performed by Roger de Wellesworth, and before the commencement of 5 Edward II, the Lord Ralph Monthermer had paid to the Crown, six thousand marks for wardship of Thomas Ap Adam, the Baron's son, of which a moiety was afterwards returned to Monthermer for services in Scotland.³

II. SIR THOMAS AP ADAM, KNIGHT.

The Cambrian patronymic of "AP ADAM" was continued in the next generation by Thomas, son and heir of Sir John, born in or about 1304, who was a minor at his father's death, shortly after which his wardship became a subject of litigation, so far as regarded his small freehold in Sedbury, the tenement of Badamscourt. Monthermer's purchase of the wardship extended to all lands held by him direct from the Crown, in which was vested at this period the fee of Strigul or Chepstow, of which Tidenham was a component part. Beteslè was a dependency of Tidenham, and Roger Wellesworth the

¹ Originalia, 4 Edw. III, Ro. 14 (p. 95).

² Clause Roll, 5 Edw. II, M. 18, Originalia, 5 Edw. II, pp. 186, 189.

³ An ancient shield of the Arms attributed to Ap Adam, namely, "Argent, on a cross gules, five mullets pierced or," remains in a window of Tidenham Church, along with a monogram and some rich foliage of the same period, and other fragments. The window is probably of later date than the peer above mentioned; but, as it was necessary to fill up a chasm of the mutilated fragment, the writer of this, who directed the reparation of it, performed this by introducing the date of his decease. "Johannes ap Adam, mcccx."

escheator, easily confounded with its tenure the tenure of Badamscourt adjacent, and laid his hands upon that also.

The claim of Monthermer in right of the Crown was successfully resisted by Milo and Matilda de Rodberewe, daughter of Agatha de Mortimer who held a severalty of the said Lordship of Strigul, as stated below, and the case was heard before a Jury impanelled at Conebrook in Wollaston, 12 Nov., 6 Edward II, 1312, and afterwards before a second Jury, impanelled at "Tuddenham" on Feb. 16th following. In each case the tenure was decided to be from Milo and Matilda de Rodberewe, by military service as the third part of a Knight's fee, and the verdict given against the claim for the Crown.¹

¹ This claim involves several interesting particulars with respect to the descent and division of the Lordship of Strigul, and may be explained as follows. It would be made by Milo de Rodborough (or Rodberewe), one of the officers of the Exchequer in the reign of Edw. II, in right of his wife MATILDA, by birth a MORTIMER of CHELMARSH, and it may be deduced thus from the CLARES.

It is well known that a division of Clare property took place after the death of Anselm Marshall, last Earl of Pembroke of that line, who died in 1245. His eldest sister and coheir was wife of Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, and brought to him, among other estates, the Lordship of Strigul and its dependency of Tidenham.

A younger sister and coheir, Sibilla Marshall, was wife of William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, and was mother, among other daughters, of Agatha, wife of Hugh de Mortimer of Chelmarsh in Northamptonshire.

By an Inquisition super extantam of July 9, 1297 (25 Edw. I.), Milo and Matilda de Rodberewe are found to have held their lands in Magor (within the present Monmouthshire) in Capite from the King, by the gift of Agatha de Mortimer, and by a writ of livery, preserved in the Fine Rolls, 16 Henry VI (reciting two previous Inquisitions of 5 Hen. IV and 12 Hen. VI), the said Matilda is proved to be daughter of Hugh de Mortimer (the husband of Agatha above mentioned) by a deduction of descent, from him, and through his said daughter Matilda, of Edmund de Rodberewe, fourth in descent from her, described as "*filius Hugonis filii Thome filii Matildæ, sororis Henrici patris Hugonis predictæ*" (viz., de Mortimer).

This was the Matilda de Rodberewe, claimant, along with her husband, of the wardship of Thomas ap Adam, 6 Edw. II; and there can be little or no doubt of the paramount interest in Badamscourt lands, having passed to her in the same manner as her manerial interest in

SUBSEQUENTLY IT WAS CERTIFIED on March 5th, 1316, 9 Edward II, that Thomas Ap Adam was a minor and ward of the King, and his paternal inheritance is described as in Beverstone, King's Weston and Redwick, Gloucestershire; and Stoke St. Michael, Downhead, Barrow, and East Harptree, Somersetshire.¹ Dugdale states his coming of age and renewing his livery thereon, in 18 Edward II,² and on May 12th, 19 Edward II, he was summoned by writ to appear in Chancery, and answer for default in not taking knighthood.³ Then commences the series of alienations of the great estates of his maternal ancestors.

1. July (1325) 19 Edw. II. Thomas ap Adam, son and heir of John ap A., grants to Isabella de Hastings, late wife of Sir Ralph de Monthermer, the manor and advowson of Monewdon, co. Suffolk. (Rot. Claus. M. 31, dorso.)
2. And on Sunday following, all his lands in Puriton, for life, to John de Wallonia, in villenage. (Ibidem.)
3. June 14, 3 Edw. III, 1329. The same grants (as Sir Thomas ap A.) to John Inge his manors of Penyard, Herefordshire, La Lee, Gloucestershire, and Esthamptonet, Suffolk. (Rot. Claus., M. 18, in dorso, confirmed in Chancery.)
4. June 4, 3 Edw. III, 1329. Demise for life "*apres plusieurs debatz et dissensions*"—"pour bone pees et quiete" to Thomas son of Hugh de Gournay, for life, of rents in Panbere and Willewe, also of the vill of Netherwere, the manor of Gorste near Strogail, and the manor of East Harptre, the grantor receiving back in consideration of this, and of a payment in money, a previously granted life-interest in the manor of Dunheved, co. Somerset, and in "*la Hamelle de Beteslè, ensemblement ove le Passage*." (Confirmation in Chancery, June 24.)
5. April 12, 4 Edw. III. License to Thomas ap Adam to enfeoff Maurice de Berkeley with the manors of Kings Weston and Ailberton (Elberton), Gloucestershire, to hold to him and his heirs. (Test. at Wudestok—Pat. 4 Edw. III.)
6. 4 Edw. III, 1330. Thomas ap Adam sells to Thomas de Berkeley and Margaret his wife, and their heirs, the castle and manor of Beverstan and the manor of Overe, Gloucestershire. (Dugdale, Baronage, ii, 10, quoting Pat. 4 Edw. III, p. 1, Memb. 32.)

Magor, namely, by gift of Agatha de Mortimer, but whether it was held from her, as of her manor in Magor, does not appear.

¹ Parl. Writs, published by Record Commission.

² Citing Clause Roll, 18 Edw. II.

³ Writs as before.

With this sale to the Lord de Berkeley and his wife, a daughter of Roger de Mortimer, the series of alienations closes. When the reader considers "*the debates and dissensions*," the proceedings to obtain "*good peace and quiet*" mentioned in the demise of 1329, he will remember that much of this property was Berkeley property originally, will think of the proximity of Beverstone and its dependencies to the Castle of Berkeley, will remember that the tenure of the alienator's paternal lands were from Mortimer of Chelmarsh, the near relative of Roger Lord Mortimer, Queen Isabella's favourite, and that Sir Thomas Ap Adam the alienator, was second cousin to Thomas de Gornay, executed for his share in the Berkeley tragedy. These scattered points form an observable aggregate, and perhaps some clue might be found in this, if it could be traced, to the rapid dissipation, by the son, of the wealth so suddenly obtained by the father.

Courthope closes his account of Sir Thomas Ap Adam with the date of the last alienation, namely 1330, and doubts whether the writs of Summons issued to his father could be considered to have created a permanent Peerage, for reasons given by him under the title of "*Fitz John*."¹

III. ROBERT, HAMUND AND JOHN AP ADAM.

These brothers, Robert, Hamund and John, were, undoubtedly, sons of Sir Thomas Ap Adam, and are mentioned in the order of the dates of Charters in which they occur. It is possible that ROBERT and HAMUND were senior to JOHN and died issueless; or, again, that John might be born even after the date of the first Charter, and continue the family. A pedigree in the College of Arms, by Cook, makes John the eldest, describes them all as issueless, and gives them a sister Alice, wife of Thomlyn Philipot, as in the pedigree annexed.

¹ Historic Peerage, p. 25.

Sir H. Nicholas admits, that it "is unsupported by evidence."¹ And it is clear that John was representative of the family in 1376, when he confirmed his father's Charters, as follows.

In 16³ Edward III, 1342-3, is a note of a Charter of Thomas Lord Berkeley, by which he confirms to ROBERT, son of Sir Thomas Ap Adam, lands, tenements, and rents in Gorste, Beteslè, Tudenham, and elsewhere in Strugull, which he had of the gift of the Lord Thomas de Gurnay, with remainder in default of heirs of the said ROBERT Ap Adam, to HAMUND his brother and the heirs of his body, and remainder in defect of heirs, to the right heirs of the said Thomas Ap Adam for ever.

49 Edward III, 1376 (Rot. Claus.) JOHN, son of Sir Thomas Ap Adam, Kt., releases to Katherine de Berkeley, Lady of Wotton, her son and his heirs male, and to Thomas de Berkeley, Lord of Berkeley, and his assigns, all his right and claim in the Castle and manor of Beverston, and in the Manor of Overe, co. Gloucester (see *ante*, 4 Edward III); in the Manor of Barwe, co. Somerset, and lands in Tykenham therein; and in the Advowson of Sherncote, co. Wilts, cum pert.

IV.—SUCCESSION OF THE HUNTLEYS AS HEIRS GENERAL OF AP ADAM.

The direct evidence of Records closes with the before-mentioned release from John Ap Adam to the Berkeleys in 1376, and the link between this grantor and his successors, the Huntleys, is variously stated in contradictory pedigrees. That drawn by Robert Cooke, Clarencieux (MSS. Coll. Arm. A 20), has the stamp of official authority in giving to this John a sister and heir, *Alicia*,³ wife of Thomlyn ap Philpot, who was certainly a Huntley, but it is inaccurate in making him father of the coheirs, and omitting the intermediate male descents.

¹ Retrospective Review, new series, vol. i, p. 300.

² Harl. MSS. 6079, p. 108.

³ In a Memoir on "Baronies by Writ", by Sir H. Nicolas (Retrospective Review, second series, i, 299) is notice of an Inq. of 18 Hen. VI,

That such descents existed is apparent from deeds, and looking to the certain succession to property, as noted in the pedigree subjoined, without any known alienation, and with continued usage of the patronymic of Ap Thomlyn as well as the local name of Huntley, the moral proof seems to be complete. The father of Thomlyn ap Philpot or Philip, whom Cooke states to have married the sister of John Ap Adam, is named as Philip, son of Paganus *de Huntley*, in a deed of July, 7 Edward III, 1333 ;¹ and after use of the Cambrian patronymic for two generations, the second John ap Thomlyn is expressly described as "*Tomlyn alias Huntley*," in the Monmouthshire Visitation of 1683.

With this family the descent of property proceeds as follows :—

§ I. JOHN AP THOMLYN, agreeably to the authority of Cooke, Clarencieux, as before mentioned, occurs first as nephew of that John Ap Adam, last of the male line, who confirmed Beverstone to Berkeley in 1376. On Sept. 10th, 1448, this John ap Thomlyn occurs, along with his wife Joanna, in a demise of Badam-is-court to William Maister of Betesle, for one hundred and one years.²

§ II. JOHN AP THOMLYN, successor and, for reasons above mentioned, most probably son of the preceding, occurs in the same series of title deeds, (March 20, 14 H. VII, 1498-9), as "*Johannes ap Thomlyn, Dominus de Beatisley*," in a conveyance of lands adjacent to Badamscourt. In a pedigree com-

relative to John ap Adam, who held lands in Redwick in Gloucestershire, and died in 18 Hen. VI, leaving *John Huntley*, son of his sister *Elizabeth*, cousin and heir, and aged 40 years and upwards. It is a striking coincidence, but no more; and Sir H. N., afterwards stated in a MS. communication, that he did *not* consider this John to be identical with the John ap Adam of 1376. It may be added that this Inquisition was retrospective, "*ad melius inquirendum*," that its subject died 3 Hen. VI, 1424, and *not* in 18 Hen. VI, and the certain dates are irreconcilable with such identity.

¹ In the possession of Thomas Wakeman, Esq., 1860.

² Sedbury Deeds, in possession of the Author, 1861.

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1. *Phragmites australis* (Cav.) Trin. ex Steud.

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1. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1997; 277: 1033-1036.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 84

municated by an intelligent Monmouthshire antiquary,¹ he is stated to have married the daughter and heiress of John Roulf of Llanllowell, and it is certain from the recital of descent quoted below, that he was father of the coheirresses of this line of Huntley.

OF THESE COHEIRESES, Margaret, daughter and coheir of John ap Thomlyn, Dominus de Beatisley, is identified as of such parentage by an original demise, dated Nov. 26th, 1536,² wherein her son and heir, William Edmond, Gentleman, describes himself as "Dominus de Betisley, filius et heres Edmundi ap Gwyllym ap Hopkin et Margarete uxoris ejus *unius filiarum et heredum Johannis ap Thomlyn.*" This demise confirms the previous one made by John ap Thomlyn, the elder, in 1448.

The representation is believed to have been continued in male line, by Williams of Treveldee near Usk, but this Gloucestershire fragment of the once great estate of the Baron Ap Adam passed, probably by sale, before 1580, to Dr. Symings of London. It consisted of Badamscourt, with an interest on the mesne manors of Gorste and Beteslè,³ and from him the later title descends as follows :—

In 1580, Badamscourt, with the Manor of "Bettesley," and a third part of the Manor of Gorste, were purchased by William Lewis of St. Pierre, Esq., from the before mentioned John Symings, M.D., an eminent London Physician of his day,

¹ Thomas Wakeman, Esq.

² Badamscourt Deeds.

³ THE REST of the property of these heirs general of Ap Adam consisted of the mansion of Llanllowel, a mesne fee held from the Lordship of Usk, and of other property in LLANLLOWELL and the Moors near Magor.

The first, according to the Visitation of Monmouthshire in 1683, was held by Walter Parker, in right of his mother Margery, daughter and coheir of John Tomlyn alias Huntley, and wife of Thomas Parker. From him the Parkers of Monmouth, as in MS. Coll. Arm., K. 6, p. 215.

The writer is informed by Mr. Wakeman, that the residue of the Llanllowel estate and the land in Magor Moors were divided between the other sisters, and that these were Jane, wife of Reynalt ap Gwyllym, and Elizabeth.

who made several other purchases in this neighbourhood, and of whom a notice will be found in Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*.¹

In 1787 the Trustees of Morgan Lewis, Esq., conveyed Badamscourt to Charles Williams of Tidenham, Esq., by whose trustees it was released in 1800 to Major-General Sir Henry A. M. Cosby. The mesne manor of Beachley, which ultimately passed to the Duke of Beaufort, had been separated from it.

On July 12, 1825, Badamscourt was conveyed along with other estates in Sedbury, by the Trustees of Sir H. A. M. Cosby, to George Ormerod, Esq., D.C.L., the present proprietor in 1861.

¹ In Notes on Ecclesiastical Remains at Runston, etc., by Octavius Morgan, Esq., M.P., Dr. Symings is stated to have purchased the Dinham estate, mentioned in p. 93, and to have resold it in 1586 to William Blethin, Bishop of Llandaff. Antony Wood mentions his death on July 7, 1588, at Little St. Bartholomew's in Smithfield, and his interment in the Hospital there. *Fasti*, i, 144, edit. 1815.

XIII.

ON THE PROBABLE IDENTITY OF THE GLOUCESTERSHIRE
CHAPELRY OF ST. BRIAVELS, RECOGNISED AS LIDNEIA
PARVA IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY; WITH THE
LEDENEI OF THE SAXON HUNDRED OF LEDENEI,
NAMED IN THE DOMESDAY SURVEY AS THE PROPERTY
OF WILLIAM FITZ BADERON.

I. It has been generally supposed that the Vill, which, for many centuries, has borne a name derived from that of the adjacent CASTLE of ST. BRIAVEL, was passed over in silence in the Domesday Survey, and Rudder and Bigland aver such omission in direct terms. It certainly does not appear under its present designation of St. Briavels, the origin of which name has not been ascertained, but which has first occurred to the writer of this memoir in the Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I,¹ where "Milo de Gloecestria" accounts, among other things, for disbursements connected with the services of one knight, serjeants, porter, and watch at the "CASTELLUM DE SCO BRIAVEL."

II. With respect to the transference of this name from the Castle to the Parochial Chapel, *the same* occurs as that of the Patron Saint of the Chapel before 1166, in a decree of that Bishop of Worcester, who consecrated it, as after-mentioned. But it is important to notice that this appellation of "*Capella S. Briavelli*" struggled with that of "*de Lidneia Parva*," which is preserved in a somewhat later episcopal award of the Bishop of Hereford, the district from which the Church claimed tithe being also denominated in the same document, "*Dominium de Lidneia Parva*."

¹ Great Roll of the Pipe, edited by Hunter, p. 76.

III. It is believed by the writer that the original name of the Chapelry was *Lidney*, and that it is surveyed in Domesday under the name of LEDENEI in Ledenei Hundred.¹ Two other places of similar name occur in the Domesday Survey of Gloucestershire. One is LEDENE² in Botlewes Hundred, referred by Rudder to Upleadon, and foreign to the present discussion. The other is LINDENEE, in Bliteslan Hundred,³ universally admitted to relate to Lydney on the Severn, the only Gloucestershire place now bearing that name.

IV. Of these two villis or lordships, the Ledenei of Ledenei Hundred and the Lindenee of Bliteslau Hundred have both been considered by Sir Robert Atkyns, Rudder, and Bigland to have been comprehended within the present Lydney, and to have been identical with manors therein, severally known as Warwick's and Shrewsbury's, the titles of former owners.

V. This is inconsistent with Domesday. Shrewsbury's seems to have been only an antient subinfeudation, and the district comprehended within the present Lydney is on the *Severn side* of the Gloucestershire peninsula, whereas the Ledenei, with which it is proposed to identify St. Briavel's, the former Lidneia Parva, was a tenure in Capite, distinctly stated in Domesday to have had rights of fishery in the *Wye*.

VI. As a part of the evidence will turn on an award made by the Bishop of Worcester, between the monks of LIRE, patrons of the mother-church of Lydney on Severn, claiming tithe for their new chapel of St. Briavel within Lidneia Parva, and the monks of Saumur, previously possessing it by ancient usage, it may be better to premise that no church is named by Domesday within the greater or present Lydney. This last named Lydney was included in the "*Terra Regis*," having been forfeited by Roger de Breteuil, son of William Fitz Osberne the Norman grantee. It does not appear whether this mother-church was founded or otherwise by either of these Barons, or, after forfeiture, by the Crown; but it was

¹ Fol. 167, col. 1.

² Fol. 165 b, col. 1.

³ Fol. 164, col. 1.

certainly confirmed to Lire Abbey by Henry II,¹ between 1154, the date of his accession, and 1173, the date assigned by Dugdale to the death of William Earl of Gloucester, one of the witnesses of this confirmation.² It further appears from an obit-book of Hereford,³ that the church of Lydney was given to Hereford Cathedral by Robert Abbot of Lire and Canon of Hereford; and the time of this seventeenth abbot is fixed between 1269 and 1271 by the list of Abbots in Du Monstier's *Neustria Pia*.⁴ Lire, therefore, would have the patronage of the mother-church, to which the patronage of St. Briavels or of Lidney Parva (as the Chapel was variously denominated), was appended until 1269, and a document cited will prove its possession of this patronage before 1166.

VII. The next point relates to the foundation of the Chapel, and to the Decree of the Bishop of Hereford, who consecrated it, and declared it to be a Chapel of the Mother-Church of Lydney. This decree is given in the *Monasticon* from the original Register of Lire Abbey,⁵ and contains a statement by R . . . Bishop of Hereford, that it was recognized at the time of *his* Dedication of the Chapel of St. Briavel, that it was a dependency of the Church of Lydney, and that both belonged to the Abbey of Lire. Dependency on the mother-church continued to the present century, but the argument has, hitherto, only proved early use of the name of St. Briavels.

VIII. The Episcopal Award,⁶ which follows this Decree, will prove the date of this dedication to have been before 1166, and will show that this Chapel and its district retained a more ancient name of *Lidneia Parva*, although St. Briavel had been named in the preceding decree, as being the Patron Saint. It will, also, prove the previous interest of the monks of Saumur in this *Lidneia Parva*, which monks had been grantees of much ecclesiastical patronage and other property

¹ Dugdale's *Mon. Ang.* (Ellis), vi, 1092. ² Dugdale's *Baronage*, i, 536.

³ Appended to the *Hist. of Hereford*, 1717, p. 20.

⁴ Page 537.

⁵ Vol. vi, p. 1094.

⁶ *Monasticon*, *ibid.*

in the neighbourhood, from the direct representatives of William Fitz Baderon, the Norman Lord of the *Ledenei* in Ledenei Hundred.

IX. The award cited was made by R . . . , Bishop of Worcester, in a controversy "*diu agitata*," between the monks of Saumur and those of Lire, respecting the two several Chapels of Hualdesfeld¹ and *Lidneia Parva*, and directs that the monks of Lire (patrons of St. Briavels at this time, as already proved) shall henceforward have two garbs, "*de decimâ Domini de Parva Lideneia quas Monachi Salmurenses solent antiquitus habere*."

X. The date of this award would be between 1164 and 1166, for the following reasons: *William*, Abbot of Lire, agrees to this composition on behalf of his House, and as appears from the list given by Du Monstier,² would be William, tenth abbot, who died in 1166, and who was the *only Abbot William* contemporary with any Bishop of Worcester, whose initial was R. This Bishop R . . . would be Roger, son of Robert Earl of Gloucester, consecrated Bishop by Becket in 1164, and the Dedication of the Chapel of St. Briavels (previously and subsequently Lydney Parva) would be between these dates, and this will give a close approximation to the date of the foundation.

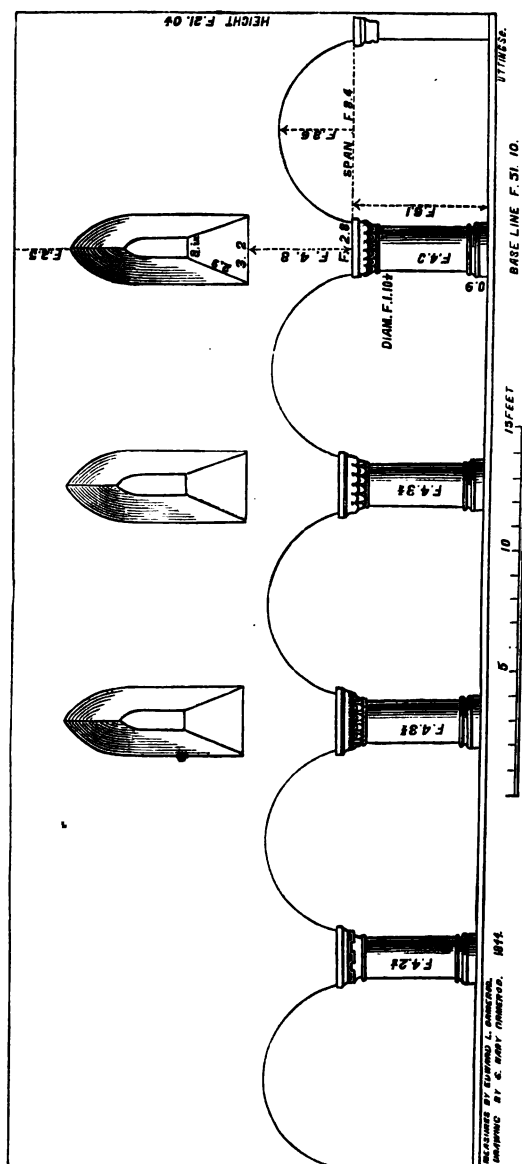
XI. It is submitted that this collective evidence will show,

1. That the Domesday description of Ledenei in Ledenei Hundred, is not reconcileable to any part of the Domesday Lindenee in Bliteslau Hundred, or Lydney *on Severn*, the Norman Ledenei being on the *Wye*, and having rights of fishery therein.

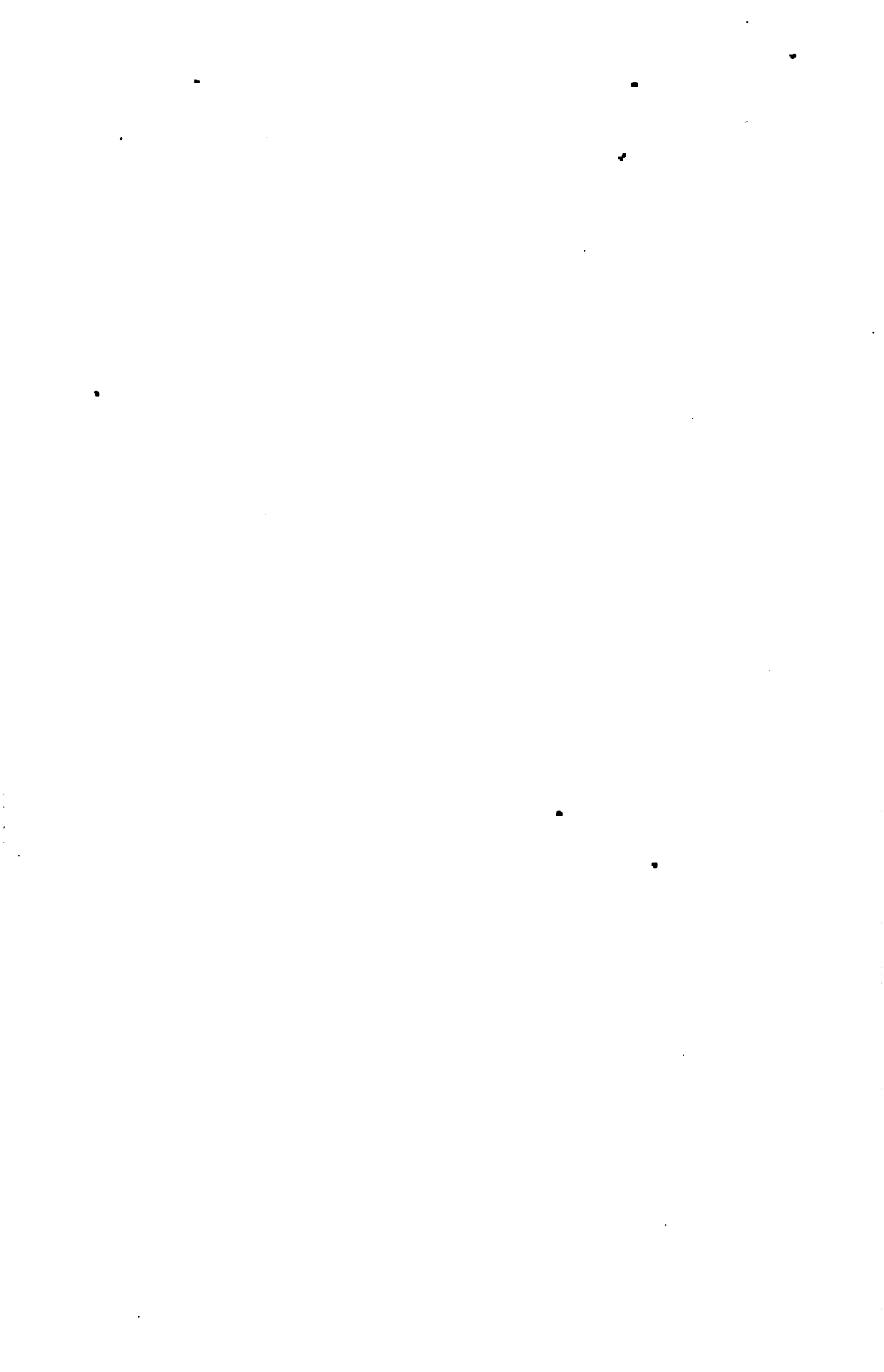
2. That the chapel named *Capella Sancti Briavelli*, with reference to the Patron Saint, in the Decree of the consecrating Bishop, is named between 1164 and 1166 in a later Episcopal

¹ Now Hewelsfield, Hiwoldston in Domesday, i, fol. 167, granted to Fitz Baderon, but afforested afterwards, "*jussu Regia*."

² Page 537.



SOUTH SIDE OF THE NAVE OF ST. BRIAVEL'S CHURCH.



Award, as the Chapel of "*Lideneia Parva*," and that the locality from which it drew tithes, which had been anciently ("antiquitus") drawn by the monks of Saumur, was "*Dominium de Lideneia Parva*."

3. That a long agitated controversy between these monastic houses, had led to an award, in which the monks of Saumur, in Anjou, are stated (as before mentioned) to have rights, "antiquitus," in this "*Dominium de Parva Lideneia*," those monks being known to have been the grantees of various properties in this neighbourhood connected with Monmouth Priory, from the direct representatives of that William Fitz-Baderon, in whose Norman grants the Ledenei of Ledenei Hundred is included in the Domesday Survey.

XII. It is submitted that these points would render the position of St. Briavels, *proved* to be coincident with the *Lidneia Parva* of the twelfth century, totally irreconcilable with any part of the present *Lydney on Severn*, the *Lindenee* of the *Terra Regis* in Domesday; and that they identify it, as far as such remote identification can be expected to be recovered, with Fitz-Baderon's *Ledenei in Ledenei Hundred*, on the *Wye*, as the later *Lidneia Parva*.

XIII. In another point, the date of 1164-66 will be found to be clearly proved as that of the Episcopal Award, somewhat later than the Decree which follows the consecration of the Chapel of St. Briavel, and this may be useful to the architectural antiquary in considering the style of the south side of the nave, and carvings in other parts very similar to those of corresponding date at Malmesbury.

The general arrangement and form of the Clerestory windows, and arches and ornamental capitals of the above-mentioned south side of the nave, which seems to have been part of the original building, will be gathered from the annexed representation drawn from measurement in 1844.

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